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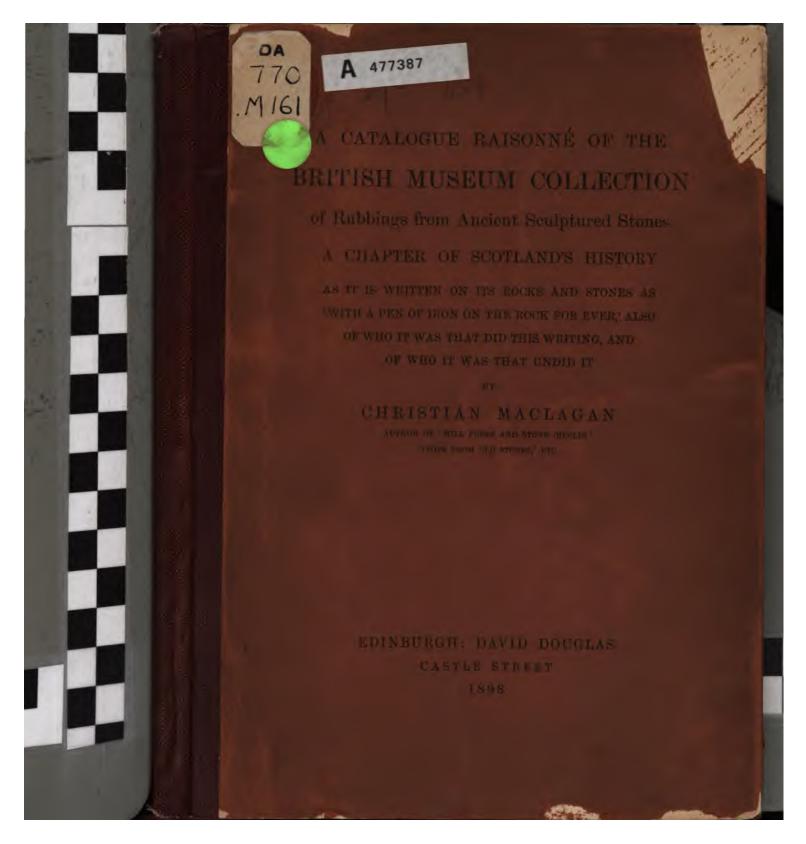
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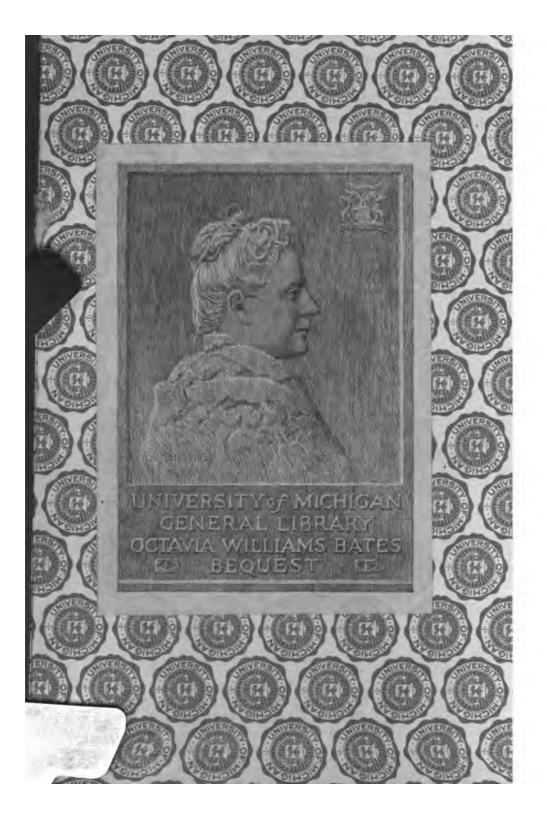
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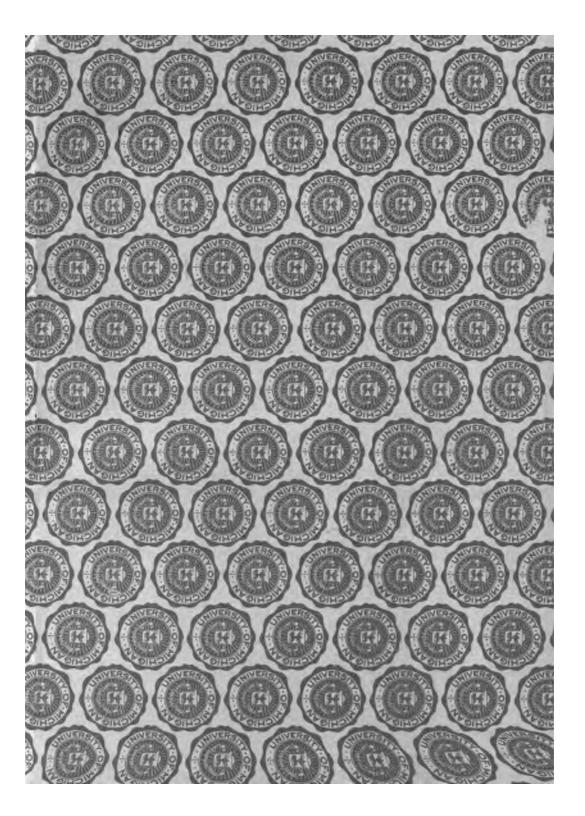
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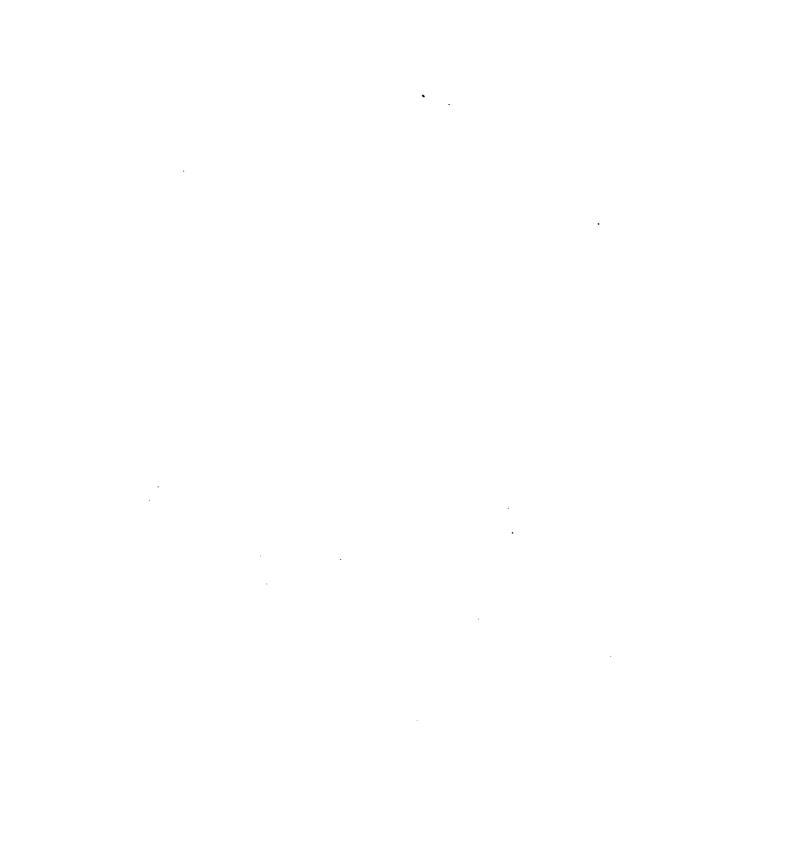
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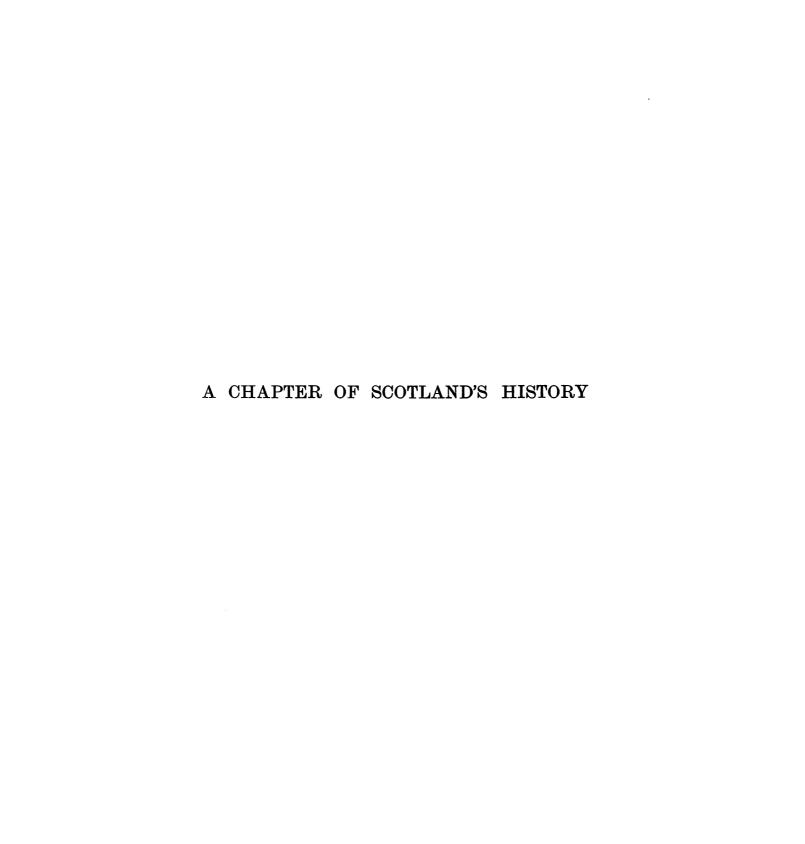












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# A CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION

of Rubbings from Ancient Sculptured Stones

A CHAPTER OF SCOTLAND'S HISTORY

AS IT IS WRITTEN ON ITS ROCKS AND STONES AS
'WITH A PEN OF IRON ON THE ROCK FOR EVER,' ALSO
OF WHO IT WAS THAT DID THIS WRITING, AND
OF WHO IT WAS THAT UNDID IT

 $\mathbf{BY}$ 

# CHRISTIAN MACLAGAN

AUTHOR OF 'HILL FORTS AND STONE CIRCLES'
'OHIPS FROM OLD STONES,' ETC.

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EDINBURGH: DAVID DOUGLAS
CASTLE STREET
1898

DA 176

# PREFACE

HAVING in 1895 presented to the British Museum upwards of three hundred sheets of rubbings from the sculptured stones of Scotland, I now, at the expressed desire of some of the officials of that Institution, and of many others interested in the subject, attempt to give some information about them both as individual stones and as a series of illustrative examples.

As regards the manner of the rubbings, I may say that all of them are my own unassisted work. The method employed also is one which I discovered for myself, after trying and being disappointed in the results of other methods.

When first determining to attempt to take good rubbings from stones, which were often in a worn condition, and also difficult to be reached, and trying to learn what had been already done by others, I bethought me of the Edinburgh Antiquarian Society as the most likely source of information, and accordingly applied to the official in charge of the few sculptured stones of the Antiquarian Museum in the Scottish metropolis for some instruction in the art of taking impressions of stone on paper.

His reply was, 'Just spread your paper over the stones and rub it with grass or docken leaves.' I was a mere novice, and he an LL.D., and it was natural to give his advice a trial. This was done in the ancient churchyard of Kildalton. But it was in another way and on another day that the rubbings were done from the stones of this place that are now in the British Museum. I mention the above chiefly for the purpose of distinctly affirming that my way of doing rubbings is simply my own invention.

In my wanderings over the land in search of our stone records, I

was much struck by the beauty and power of many of their designs, and began to take impressions, at first in the hope that if they were exhibited they might give a lesson to our modern art-workers in stone, wood, silver, and gold, and tend to restore a better style of workmanship and a purer taste in art conceptions. Afterwards I was led to ponder over the signs of the decay in this ancient art of stone-sculpturing; of its causes and of its causers; and of the place its story deserves in our national history. This led on to a study of the rise and fall of our Scottish monasteries.

These pages are intended to be, and it is hoped they may be, of some use to the frequenters of the British Museum, and to that limited public which feels an interest in the stony pages of our ancient Scottish history. They are planned to make clear to readers the connection between the three hundred sheets of rubbings now in that great depository of art and this the latest chapter of our Stone-writ History. This effort has been undertaken under most adverse conditions—the rubbings are in London, and I in my Scottish home, and perhaps the most serious of all is that the writer is now in her eighty-eighth year.

Therefore, kind reader, 'gently scan' the story which I have woven from the study of these monuments, and I pray you to carefully read the rubbings themselves that you may understand their story, for they do shed light on many a dark page of our national history.

I owe thanks to many for their kind assistance in my various wanderings and much felt need of help. These are too numerous for acknowledgment here, and I shall only mention the names of two very much valued friends, Miss Pope and Dr. Nicoll, R.N., 7 Hope Terrace, Edinburgh.

CHRISTIAN MACLAGAN.

RAVENSCROFT, STIRLING, 20th February 1898.

# A CHAPTER OF SCOTLAND'S HISTORY AS IT IS WRITTEN ON ITS ROCKS AND ON ITS STONES AS 'WITH A PEN OF IRON ON THE ROCK FOR EVER': ALSO OF THOSE WHO DID THIS WRITING AND OF THOSE WHO UNDID IT.

THE earliest stone records of Scotland are written in languages difficult for us to interpret, but, reading them as best one can, they afford a good deal of information about the character and ways of our rude forefathers.

The earliest of these languages imprinted on stone comes before us in what antiquarians call 'Cup Markings,' 1 and if we could find out its signification it would be well worth the having, as at some remote period it was in use all the world over.

The second chiselled language is that of Symbols or Hieroglyphics,<sup>2</sup> the third is Oghams,<sup>3</sup> the fourth Runes, and the fifth is Christian Art.

#### FIRST CLASS—CUP MARKINGS.

Let us first look at Scotland's Cup Markings. One thing they clearly teach us is that its early races were not 'nomadic,' but a people that leisurely and solidly built themselves homes of stone of great strength and durability. These were the days of circular houses. They even took pains to adorn their walls with something that might be called records; for on their interior stones we find they placed our earliest sculpturings (the Cup Markings), and adorned with these the most prominent and stately among them.

In relation to the general subject of Cup Markings, and to the wide outspread of its system, I may refer to the work of Mr. Row,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbing 302. Vide Appendix I. p. 79. <sup>2</sup> Rubbing 241. <sup>3</sup> Rubbing 241.

Washington, U.S.A. He shows us in his book on this subject their survival in almost all European countries; but many of his descriptions are from poorly delineated specimens,—specimens too which he had not himself seen.

I may also mention facts related by one who had seen what he spoke of (the late Dr. Grigor of Rome, and Nairn). He assured me that he saw quite a crowd of Cup Markings upon the rock on which is built the great Cathedral of Seville, besides many other rocks in Spain. I myself saw them when in Italy, and in situations the most unexpected, my attention being directed to them by the above-mentioned valued friend and antiquary. One of those places was the pedestal of a statue which had been brought to Rome from Athens. Another, still more surprising, was that on the marble steps of the Foro Romano. Of these I have elsewhere written (in Chips from Old Stones) that they appear systematically arranged in square compartments, and great numbers on each of them. They have not been worn down by the tread of Roman feet, but are perfectly fresh-looking still. Their presence here points to the fact that this work had been continued even into historic times.

In order to have the highest authority on the subject of dates, at my request a friend of mine resident in Rome applied to Professor Lanciani of the University there, and his reply (in English) is in the following words:—

'Professor Lanciani does not understand what Miss Maclagan means by the expression "cup markings." It must be an English technical phrase unknown to Professor Lanciani, especially as the "things" seem to be the work of northern invaders.

'Professor Lanciani knows no traces or "sculpturings" left by northern invaders in the Forum.

'Query 1st. The City has never been destroyed by barbarians, but more or less damaged every time they approached or conquered it. This has happened about thirty-eight times in the course of many centuries. The definite ruin of the Forum dates from 1540 to 1549 (sic) [a mistake for 1440-1449].

'Query 2nd. The excavations of the Forum began in 1490-1495, and have never stopped since. The removal of the earth and rubbish, so as to leave the ruins permanently exposed to view, began with Pius vI., were continued by Napoleon and Pius vII., and were completed in 1882 by the Italian Government.

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'Query 3rd. The depth of the bed of rubbish varies from 24 ft. (by S. Adriano) to 30 ft. (by the temple of Faustina). In the courtyard of the House of Vestals, 66 ft. of rubbish have been removed.

'On the floor of the Forum are many rude drawings of figures (not likely to have been Roman work), and also numerous circles, within one of which appear these suggestive letters—O. R. A. C. V. L. O. Can these have been placed there of old as an attempted interpretation of the meaning of the cups? This is probable enough.'

Leaving Europe, let us turn to India. My friend Dr. Hutchison (Church of Scotland Medical Mission, Punjab) informs me that he finds the cups engraven on the rocks of the Himalaya mountains, and that the inhabitants, even at the present day, use them for divination. Were these old representations of the heavenly bodies? It may be. The human love of prying into the future in all ages may afford a hint of the real purpose of the Cup Markings. They are not plentiful in that region, but we know that they are so all over the Deccan; and even in the far Pacific, in Easter Island, we find them represented.

Mr. Symington gives us in his *Travels* a pictorial illustration of the huge sculptural figures of men found there, one of these being so lofty as to measure forty feet. This island giant has Cup Markings on his cheek, and also on a great rock at his feet there are other cups.

In relation to the home field, it may be noted that the cup work here is more clearly and sharply done than on the continental stones. On the huge wall of the 'Black Catterthun,' 1 for instance—the great Forfarshire fortress—there lies a large stone completely covered with Cup Markings, still as sharply defined as any on a bagatelle-board. This freshness is probably due to the fact that the sculptured face of that stone has only recently been turned over from facing the ground. The chief habitats of the cup work seem to be in the counties of Argyll and Dumbarton. The largest group of these cups that I have seen is at Cairnbaan, in the valley of the Crinan Canal—these are graven on an ice-polished sloping rock.

Antiquaries had observed a small part of this group; but I greatly enlarged it by peeling off a carpet-like layer of the covering

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vide Appendix II., p. 79.

turf and was able to open up a continuous sheet of those 'cup and ring' markings. Some of these rings are of great size—a yard in diameter—with rings within rings, and a cup in the centre. The length of this sheet of carving is 48 feet, and its breadth about 12 feet. I drew a careful and coloured map of this *find*, and gave it to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh. But it is nowhere recorded in the Transactions of that body, to my great regret. This is only one of three similar incidents.

# RUBBING 301. CUP MARKINGS.

The stone here represented rests in a field on a farm not far from Doune, Perthshire (if it may be said to have rest). Thirty years ago I knew it as one of a cluster of basalt stones in the form of a segment of a very large circle of such like stones standing shoulder to shoulder, but a friend of mine informed me that he had known it as a complete circle. Revisiting it ten years later I found the stones reduced by half their former number; and now there remains only a jumbled cluster of some five or six stones. For year by year the farmer has coveted the use of the soil for his harvest, and removed part of the original edifice. On one of the still surviving stones there are Cup Markings. This monument had its figured side facing the centre of the circle; now it has fallen, and the cups confront the sky. Of these cups the general observer notices only the six largest, but my rubbing system brings to light about twenty lesser ones that have been hidden by the general grey colour, which greyness deceives those on the look-out for 'Orientation' here as well as elsewhere. Yet still antiquarians, in studying the small stone heaps of ancient buildings, look at them from east and west, and talk of 'Orientations,' and men listen to their learned words. When this circle consisted of numerous stones, the then farmer of the soil, also exhibiting his learning, said: 'These were all basalt stones, and there are no such rocks nearer than Abbey Craig, some six miles off; and yet here they are.' Nevertheless, just below the slope of the field, less than a quarter of a mile off, there flows the Ardoch stream, whose bed is abundantly strewn with goodly fragments of basalt.

Antiquarian research is continually bringing to light large and beautiful specimens of this work. Its widespread range would almost raise the 'cups' to the dignity of a universal language. A large volume would be required to describe fully even those in our own country, but it must be noted that almost every example seems to have been worked by the friction of stone upon stone; still, recent discoveries have displayed to us specimens so minutely worked that they must needs have been done by the use of a metal tool.

### SECOND CLASS.—SYMBOLS OR HIEROGLYPHICS.

This second class of sculpturings in stone in our country in regard of time might be considered as being separated from the first by the lapse of ages. I may remark that, unlike the Cup Markings, the workmanship is executed by the help of metal tools, and is always incised and sharply defined.

The class has been termed Symbolic or Hieroglyphic, and is exceedingly difficult to describe. One of its emblems strongly resembles our useful friend the spectacles. Another, intertwined with that, is in the form of a lunar crescent crossed and recrossed by a zigzag line, which our antiquarians term the broken sceptre. These figures are sometimes simply defined by lines, but in other cases the above forms are adorned with varying ornamental flourishes. Besides these are several other configurations; all of them are worked on solely rude unchiselled basaltic stones. The groups delineated vary greatly in size. On some stones they have only a few inches, and in others they measure two feet, or even more. They are found scattered over the ground unconnected with any trace of buildings, and therefore they may be supposed to be monumental. They are chiefly found

#### 1 Rubbing 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There is, however, a truth concerning these said stones which has come under my notice in several notable instances, and which militates against this monumental conjecture, for the following does happen in the case of cup-marked stones. One sculptured stone may be left in what was once a circle of stones, when the others are removed or destroyed, thus presenting the monumental look. In this case some feeling of respect for antiquity has stayed the hand of the destroyer. This fact has teaching in it.

in our eastern counties north of the Forth, and in the south of Sutherlandshire. This circumstance seems to limit their use to some special tribe. Dr. John Stuart supposed them to be peculiar to the Pictish provinces.

By and by a change comes over the use of this symbolic work, for we find them abundantly figured, and that on a very large scale, graven on the monuments of the Christian ages. I refer particularly to the very great and beautiful monumental stones of Forfarshire and Perthshire, and a very few beyond these limits, such as the great Cross at Foulis Wester and Maiden Stone of Garioch, Aberdeenshire; but they have nowhere been observed among the monuments of the Iona or Celtic School.

#### THIRD CLASS.—OGHAMS.

This chapter of our Stone History suggests a new idea, that of an alphabet which is represented by strings of short lines, something like that which is used in telegraphic communications. It seems to have no visible derivation from any preceding art or language, though on this subject I speak with diffidence, as my linguistic knowledge is but limited. This first attempt at an alphabet has been called Oghams, and it has been but sparingly used in Scotland, as there are probably not more than twelve or thirteen examples of it in that country, though there are many in Ireland and in the Isle of Man.

The interpretations put upon these inscriptions are very doubtful. I am inclined to follow the readings of the Earl of Southesk, who has given the subject much learned attention.

#### FOURTH CLASS.—RUNES.

The fourth class is that of Runes, of which we have very few examples in Scotland or England. A good many are found in the Isle of Man. Runes are merely a modification of the Roman character. The most noted Scottish example is that on our greatest Christian Cross, at Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire, which is supposed to have been

<sup>1</sup> Vide Appendix vI., p. 83.

a work of the seventh century. This date is arrived at by reading, graven on the top of the cross, these words, 'Caedmon me made.' But it is not at all clear whether these words refer to the making of the cross itself or to that of the inscription graven upon it, which is a beautiful Christian hymn, and may be attributed to Caedmon. Singularly enough, the full text of this beautiful and plaintive Christian hymn was discovered a few years ago in a convent library in Austria.

#### FIFTH CLASS.—CHRISTIAN ART.

Here we are now brought face to face with the chief, and by far the most important, page of our stone-writ history. So much so, that I must distinguish its various productions into schools in order to understand them aright. There are, 1st, St. Ninian's; 2 2nd, the Iona School; 3rd, the St. Andrews School; 4th, the Arbroath School; 5th, the School of Fearn Abbey.

#### MONASTERIES.—St. NINIAN'S.

As this is my first introduction to our monastic institutions, it may not be amiss to pause for a few moments to consider the monastery as a house in which monks lived together.

The earliest example which we have of this institution is that of Pachomius in Tabennae, an island of the Nile, A.D. 330. This very small plant, there grafted into the vine of the Christian Church at this early date, has from the banks of the Nile scattered its seeds over Europe, and, indeed, over the whole world. The original idea was probably that of a good man, and it has been followed out by many other good men. But the great Head of the Church in the Book of Books (the only true Church directory) gives no sanction for any such method of Christian life, and it had not a share in the prayer of Him who said, 'I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil.'

The monastery has proved its own mere human origin by the deep

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix vi., p. 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> St. Ninian's School, 267, 268, 269, 288.

disaster which it has done, and is doing, to the Christian faith throughout all lands. I am about, later, to show their evil fruits in our own land, where, ceasing to be the schools of Christian faith and morals, they became the haunts of degrading vice.

The Reformation came, and by the growing light of Holy Scripture spread by the Reformers over our country, the laity, comparing the monasteries with its sacred texts, revolted against them with deep abhorrence, and drove their inhabitants from their polluted homes. But at present I must note their rise, progress, and destruction in relation to the Schools of Stone Art.

Obviously the first question in regard to it is, In what part of our country was the cradle of the Christian art? The popular reply would at once be, In the island of Iona. But long before Columba landed there, even so early as 397 A.D., St. Ninian and his followers had been inscribing the Christian cross on many a stone and rock, and in many a sea-worn cave on the shores of the Solway Firth. St. Ninian was the son of a Christian chief of a district between the Roman walls, and he was sent to Rome to be educated and consecrated. He returned and built the church called Candida Casa (White House), near Whithorn, Wigtonshire, where he also established a monastery. Three centuries afterwards, Bede speaks of the place as illustrious for the tomb of St. Ninian, to which pilgrimages were still made. The stone workmanship of this monastery is somewhat rude, and the Greek form is adopted in sculpturing the cross. This school is not widespread. There are examples of its work to be found in all the counties bordering the Solway Firth, but not elsewhere, except in Bute. We note one of them on a bleak hill within the parish of Maidenkirk, where there is a very ancient stone serving as part of a gate-post to a deserted graveyard. This is the earliest monument of Christian antiquity that we have in Great Britain. Upon it is inscribed the name of Mathurin, one of the companions of St. Ninian. This stone helps to confirm, by its presence there, the substance of the traditions of St. Ninian, who preceded Columba by about a hundred and fifty years. The stone and its surroundings are described in Dean Stanley's Letters, p. 366. I

illustrate this school in Nos. 96 and 97 of my rubbings. Curiously enough, one single stone of the same style is found in Shetland, and more than one in the county of Cornwall, in Bute, and not elsewhere. This seems to tell of transmission by sea of these precious relics. On these stones, as at Whithorn, the form of the Greek Cross is used—a form nowhere to be found in the Western or Iona School.

I therefore claim for St. Ninian's not only the first place in the preaching of the Gospel in this country in the founding of an abbey, but also in the consequent carving of stones.

The second School, that of Columba, is more generally known and more widely spread.

#### IONA SCHOOL.1

There are few portions of our soil better known to the North Briton than is the island of Iona (see *Iona*, by the Duke of Argyll). But as these pages, we hope, may lie before our fellow-countrymen of the South, who have none of that feeling which causes us to look with interest on this small islet, it may be right to say in passing a few words about the island of Iona itself. Of its geological structure, we are told by scientists that it is one of the oldest bits of Scotland, being of the Laurentian gneiss.

Its extent is five miles in length and three in breadth. The position of Iona in regard to the mainland of Scotland is that of an outpost of the island of Mull, being separated from its long projecting promontory by a sound not much more than a mile in breadth. Though in general appearance it is flat, Dun Y (pronounced ee), its highest hill, being but a dwarf compared with those of the neighbouring mainland, its surface everywhere abounds in rocky hillocks of no great height. In the middle of the island there is a considerable portion of arable land now under good cultivation; and along its shores are portions of beautiful links whose soil is composed of pulverised shells of land molluscs. In the old times the monks had orchards, and these were to be found also in many other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Iona School, 47 rubbings.

islands of the Hebrides. To the outer world Iona has, indeed, few attractions save what have been imparted to it by the Christian heroism of one brave man. The island has been known by many names, but to the Celt chiefly by those of 'Y,' 'Hi,' and 'I,' thus variously written, but all pronounced e; also by that of 'I-Colmkill,' or 'The Isle of Columba of the Cells.' In his time the Scoti had established themselves in Cantyre and the southern isles, a district which, as being inhabited by the Scotic race, was called Scotia, while the rest of Scotland was called Alban.

Let us try to think, at the time of Columba's landing, what *Iona* was, and what *he* was. Modern authors seem constantly falling into the mistake of looking upon both of these with nineteenth-century eyes; but I shall try not to fall into this mischievous error.

We must remember that the historians of the Columban times were all Churchmen, and lived and thought in an atmosphere of Romish miracles, as their every page reveals. We in this century cannot persuade ourselves to believe in the miracles they record among the doings of Columba. We may, therefore, well look critically on their other pronouncements as to general history, and inquire strictly if there are any facts in support of many of their singular assertions.

These chroniclers tell us that Columba found Iona to be a heathen island, and that all its Christianity came to it in his currach. Does the Roman historian tell us that he found in his time the inhabitants of Scotland worshipping idols as his own fellow-countrymen did? No; this he could not do, for the singular truth is that none of our antiquarian searchers have ever, to this day, found in our land one heathen idol, or even any figure of one, graven on its many rocks. Busy one can see the early chroniclers had been in the sculpturing art, but it was not until they had fallen under the teaching of Rome that they had learned both to make idols and to worship them. How numerous then were, and still are, the idols of the Church of Rome! It should be noted that Columba never preached against idol-worship, simply because in the wide extent of his preaching he found no existence of it in Scotland.

Yet again—what of the preaching of St. Ninian? Could it be that the Christian light kindled by that saint had in that brief hundred and fifty years ere Columba appeared faded out of the land? Looking at its condition, we cannot think so. St. Ninian and his followers founded upwards of forty monasteries between the Solway Firth and Dunkeld. His disciples gradually came to be called Culdees ('Cultus Dei'), and ultimately seem to have amalgamated with the followers of Columba, holding the independent Christian creed rather than that of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

In his preaching throughout the whole kingdom we find Columba meeting with no hostility such as Christian teaching is apt to meet with when it confronts idolaters, a specimen of which hostility at a later date almost swept out of existence the Christian teaching of an after-time from Iona itself. Some antiquaries have numbered amongst the forces opposed to the teaching of Columba the power of the Druids. But the very existence of the Druids in Scotland is rather a myth than a well ascertained historical fact. Certainly the circles of standing stones throughout Scotland cannot be held to prove it.

Laying aside for the present any further discussion on this subject, we may note the mysterious steps of Providence in sending a great preacher of the Gospel hither. The man was chosen, and fitted for the work in a manner apparently the most unlikely.

He was born at Garton, in Donegal, Ireland, A.D. 521, and is said to have been of the royal race of the Scotic kings. His father and his mother, Eithre, were of the reigning families of Ireland or of Dalriada. He was ordained to the Church by Etehen, Bishop of Clonfart. In the most ancient volume of Church history we read that one of the greatest Heaven-sent deliverers of the chosen people fled from Egypt with his right hand red with human blood. So, in like manner, red-handed Columba fled from Ireland—and not stained with the blood of one man only, but with the guilt of a bloody war

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The only chroniclers we have seem by persistent silence to have desired that the name 'Culdee' should pass into oblivion, using the same tactics as our later Governments, that forbade the name 'Macgregor' to be used; but this failed to extinguish the clan, just as the old writers failed to destroy the Culdee Church.

resting on his conscience. This fact is attested by something stronger than tradition. It had its origin in a quarrel about a favourite Ms. copy of the Psalms of David. Columba, having been by his ecclesiastical superior refused possession of the coveted Ms., stirred up his kindred to declare war in order to satisfy his wounded pride, and hence the bloodshed. Unfortunately for his reputation, there still remains a document corroborative of this portion of Columba's history, from which we quote.

This relic of Columba, which is called the Cattach, or The Book of Battles (the battles above referred to), is preserved in the Royal Dublin University. It is an heirloom in the great Clan Conaill, handed down from St. Columcil through the line of the O'Donnells for a period of 1200 years. This Cattach is kept in a highly ornamental casket of silver gilt, enclosed in a stone case of still older date. There is also preserved in the same a fragment of a copy of the Psalms on vellum, being fifty-eight pages written on both sides. The first thirty Psalms are wanting; but those from the 31st to the 106th are complete. The characters in which this manuscript is written are of a very ancient type.

From this story of the Cattach it would appear that Columba ultimately obtained the much-coveted treasure. Repenting of the revengeful war, in deep contrition of soul, and under the censure of the Church, he resolved to leave his native land, and labour to spread the Gospel of Christ elsewhere, A.D. 563. In his currach (or boat of stretched hides) Columba pushed off from the shores of Ireland, seeking for ever to hide it from his sight.

On reaching the western isles of Scotland, his first landing-place was the island of Islay, but it was still too near Ireland, and probably also much too large for him there to become 'monarch of all he surveyed.' He went on to Jura. It had all the same faults. Thence to Oronsay, which was of fitting size, but looking from its heights his native land was visible, so this too he deemed unsuitable. Onward he must go, and at last he reached Iona, where all his desires could be satisfied, and there, at Port-na-Currach, he landed to remain, in the year 565 A.D.

It is true that there is no better foundation than the voice of tradition for the belief that this was his landing-place; but it is a tradition which has a right to be considered, as many things concur in pointing it out as the most likely haven. I shall dwell on these at another time. Such were the impulses which drove Columba hither.

Before taking possession of the island he is said to have received a gift of it from the king, his kinsman. His royal connection may help to account for the swift and firm hold which his teaching acquired in this country. In person Columba is described as a man of commanding appearance, tall, and powerfully built, and possessed of a voice of marvellous strength and melody. That his voice could be heard three miles off sounds rather incredible, though such is affirmed —a wonder worthy of early Church historians. Chroniclers tell us that Columba, unlike his predecessor St. Ninian, paid no visit to Rome, and received no consecration there; but with the Holy Scriptures in his hand, and the love of God and men in his heart, he traversed nearly the whole of Scotland, everywhere preaching the Gospel. These facts may account to us for this result, that his preaching was of more continuous power, and that his labours took better root in the soil of Scotland and on a wider scale than those of St. Ninian. But I follow not his footsteps now, as he is not my theme. It is Iona that we would dwell on, and to Iona we return.

Now let us look at this Port-na-Currach. Far distant as is the day since Columba landed, there has been little change in the place where his currach touched the shore. A few more layers of its beautiful pebbles may now be cast up on its strand, but the rocks, which on either side close up the bay, must have looked down upon his landing much as they do now. The greater part of this little strath has been formed into a succession of terraces, by gravels thrown up by the heaving Atlantic surf which occasionally beats into the bay. It was my good fortune to see the ocean in its wildest mood one day. With unwonted force the gigantic waves rolled inwards in all their might, and when their ponderous weight burst on the shore the ground trembled. The like storm had not been known for twenty years. In general, however, the bay is a pleasant one—gently sloping towards

the south. Landward there is a considerable expanse, many acres in extent, of fairly level country. The stretch nearest the sea is a singularly grassy glade. Farther inland it has now reverted to moor and moss, though in Columba's day the island may have been, as Dean Munro describes it in 1594, 'fertill, and fruitfull of corne and store.'

<sup>1</sup> On the grassy glade leading up from the beach is a row of stone circles, obviously the poor remains of what once were human dwellings of the most ancient type. There are also other traces of circular buildings near, of which I have endeavoured to make a slight map showing their outline. I have not known these to be noted by antiquaries, but they are worthy of attention. Besides these, there are several other circular plats of stone pavements indicative of the floors of what are generally termed 'hut circles.' It may be that this was the real site of the Columban village. Farther removed from the sea, and formed of very great stones, there is an oblong structure which may have been used for the storage of corn, a common custom of Scotland in early days, as mentioned by Tacitus. But very many legends have been invented to account for it, and very fanciful some of them are. Of late, however, the ruthless hands of agricultural 'improvers' (?) have broken up the ancient fabric by driving a drain right up through its structure. Similar buildings were, as I have noted, used in old times for storing corn.

In this storm-swept island the Columban party must have immediately hastened to provide themselves with homes. Antiquaries have furnished them with huts of wood and wattle. Of material to make such huts there is none on the island at this time (or then?); but there was plenty of stone then (as now), and surely the men that were capable of building the currach could easily build a circular wall of stone, and, after having made the circle, roof it over with such like hides out of which they had shapen their currachs, and firmly pave their huts with water-rolled stones, just such floorages as still remain among the grass of Columba's garden, as having been seen by me, and commonly called 'Hut circles.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Written in 1876.

Time moves on, and the next fact we find record of in the affairs of Columba's disciples is in an Irish Chronicle of A.D. 794—Vastatio omnium insularum a gentilibus (the devastation of all the islands by the heathen). From this date forward, during three hundred years, Iona was frequently desolated; its churches and monasteries burned, and its 'Brethren' murdered, by 'savage Norsemen.' In 985 the Danes also wasted the island. The name of the Martyrs' Bay recalls the memory of these cruel massacres.

The repeated revival of Christianity after heathen extermination shows us that there must have been a large increase of population, a steady hold of the faith on the mainland, and a growing wealth that excited the plundering propensities of pirates.

These dates (A.D. 563-955) lead us forward to the time when Christian sculpturing art begins in our island. While assigning to St. Ninian's school the earliest place in our archæological history, and tracing in it a style of its own, there certainly ought to be accorded to Iona the place of the second, and also of the largest, school of Christian Art.

The monastery founded in Iona must no doubt have been at first rough and rude, but from it the 'Brethren,' in spite of manifest poverty, diligently preached the Gospel far and wide. The churches of their planting have generally in later times been termed 'Culdee.' Columba and his successors in office persisted in refusing the authority of the Bishop of Rome until the days of Queen Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore, who succeeded in persuading them to receive it in 1057. It is somewhat noteworthy that while in Scotland Ninian generally has the 'Saint' prefixed to his name, the founder of the monastery of Iona is simply 'Columba.'

It may be recorded here that one good feature of monastic rule was the law of sanctuary. The privilege of sanctuary was one of great value in those troublous times. By the ancient Scotch law these places of retreat were not to shelter indiscriminately every offender, as was the case in more bigoted times in Roman Catholic countries; for here all criminals were excluded, and only the unfortunate delinquent and penitent sinner were sheltered from the instant stroke of rigorous justice.

In the following note this truly Christian law is recorded:—'Gif any flees to Halie Kirk moved with repentance, confesses there that he has heavily sinned, and for the love of God is come to the house of God for safety to himself, he sall nocht tyne life or limb, but quhat he has taken frae anie man he sall restore the same itsell to him and sall satisfy to the kind according to the laws of the country.'

In according the foundation of monumental art to our monasteries it is natural to inquire how the work was conducted, and by whose hands the actual chisellings were done on those numerous stones preserved in the Relig-Oran and in a wide circle beyond.

We are told that the rule of the monastery here was, that to one portion of the Brethren was committed the charge of the spiritualities. the maintaining of the worship of God in the monastery and in its kirk, and the preaching of the Gospel throughout the kingdom; certainly also the copying of the pages of Holy Scripture. To a second portion of the Brethren was committed the care of the temporal interests of the institution, such as food, clothing, and the culture of the crops—also the care of the flocks, from the wool of which their clothing was made. It is natural to suppose that in addition to these—the cares for the living—they by and by added that of honouring the dead, by carving ornamental memorial stones. As their numbers grew their wealth increased, and so also did their skill in art. and the fame of the place as 'hallowed ground' spread until even kings of the earth from distant lands desired to be buried there. There is no doubt that when the retinues of the great came along with those royal burials, the monastery, while entertaining them, shared their riches.

#### EXTRACT FROM DEAN MUNRO.

'Colmkill. Narrest this be twa myles of sea layes the ile the Erische callit I-colm-kill, that is Sanct Colm's ile, ane faire mayne ile of twa myle lange and maire, and ane myle braid, fertill and fruitfull of corne and store and guid for fishing. Within this ile there is a Monastery of Mounckes and ane uther of Nuns, with a Paroche Kirke and sundrie uther Chapells dotat of auld be the Kinges of Scotland and be Clandonald of the Iyles sen the tyme they were expulsed out of the Iyle of Man by the Englishmen for within the ile of Man was their Cathedrall Kirk and living of auld, as I have already said in the

description of that Ile. Within this Ile of Colmkill there is ane Sanctuary also, or Kirkyaird callit in Erische Religoran, quhilk is a very fair Kirkyaird and weill biggit about with staine and lyme. Into this Sanctuary ther is three tombes of staine formit like little Chapels with ane braid gray marble or quhin staine in the gavill of ilk ane of the tombes. In the staine of the ane tombe there is wretten in Latin letters Tumulus Regum Scotia, that is the tombe or grave of the Scotts Kinges. Within this tombe, according to our Scotts and Erische Cronikels, ther layes fortey-eight crouned Scotts Kings, through the quhilk this Ile has been richlie dotat be the Scotts Kings as we have said. The tombe on the South syde forsaid has this inscription, Tumulus Regum Hyberniae, that is the tombe of the Irland Kinges, for we have in our auld Erische cronickells that ther wes foure Irland Kinges eirdit in the said tombe. Upon the North side of our Scotts tombe the inscriptione beares Tumulus Regum Norwegia, that is the tombe of the Kings of Norroway, in the quhilk tombe, as we find in our ancient Erische cronickells, ther layes eight Kinges of Norroway, and als we find in our Erishe cronickells that Coelus, King of Norroway, commandit his nobils to take his bodey and burey it in Colmkill if it chancit him to die in the Iles, bot he was so discomfitit that ther remained not so maney of his armey as wald burey him ther; therefor he was eirded in Kyle after he stroke ane field against the Scotts and was vanquisht be them. Within this Sanctuary also lyes the maist pairt of the Lords of the Iles with their lineage. Twa Clan lynes with ther lynage, M'Kynnon and M'Guare with ther lynages, with sundrie uthers inhabitants of the hail Iles; because this Sanctuary was wont to be the sepulture of the best men of all the iles, and als of our kings as we have said; becaus it was the maist honorable and ancient place that was in Scotland in thair dayes as we reid.'

The above words of Dean Munro as to the burial of kings in Iona must necessarily imply an increase of riches. Besides these sources of wealth, we find that this sanctuary was, in their own language, 'dotat' by kings granting surrounding islands, such as Tiree, Inch-Kenneth, Oronsay, Colonsay, etc., to the monastery, with certain other of the lesser islands. Where these 'dotings' have gone is a question to be answered further on, as it has much to do with the after-fate of the sculpturing art.

1 'On the North and North-north-Eist of Colmkill lyes are iyle, be twalve myles of sea till within the entres of Loch Seaford forsaid, callit Inch Kenzie, half ane myle in lenthe and not fully half a myle in breadthe, a fair ile, fertill and fruitful inhabit and manurit full of curings about the shores of it, with a Paroch Kirk, the maist part of the Parochin being upon the mayne shoar of Mull—being onlie are half myle distant from the said ile, and the haill parochin of it pertains to the Prioress of Colmkill.'—Dean Munro.

But along with the general increase of wealth there came also in the course of time an increase of population. In this increase the abbots had their full share; for even the stones themselves record that the abbots had sons and grandsons, and engraven on the stones of these are their names and the offices they held.

The records of many other abbeys contain confirmation of the same facts. There are no records on the stones of daughters, and none of the marriages of abbots, not even among the 'Fingonnies,' from which clan the abbots of Iona were continuously recruited. But we know that marriage was permitted to the Culdee clerics. Indeed, Bethoc or Beatrice, the daughter of Malcolm II., married Crinan, the abbot of Dunkeld, then Primate of all Scotland, and their son was 'the gracious Duncan,' the king so honoured by Shakespeare in Macbeth.

There still remain the ruins of a nunnery, and we have monumental records of two of the lady prioresses. One of these is in Tiree, on a finely carved cross, the honour of which she has to share with the Archangel Michael. The other is that of 'Mariotta' in Iona. But the burials of other women are unrecorded, or else the records have not come down to us.

When Pennant visited Iona in 1772, he could discover of the tombs of the kings nothing more than slight remains, which were built in a 'ridged form,' and which were 'arched within.'

Now, in this nineteenth century of ours, it is not an easy thing to speak of the Iona schools of art as a whole. Widely spread as it was, many of the pages are destroyed, and others hidden, so that they who would speak justly of what remains must go seek it on the mountain sides, in the lonely glens, and by the solitary seashore.

There it once was; but in many of these places it now often only tells of the former existence of a Christian population. Sometimes, it may be only from tradition, or by the guidance of the single word 'Kil,' in place-names, that we are led to crumbled churches and churchyards rich in sculpturings which are covered over with ancient vegetation, the roots of which are more like those of trees than of herbs. What brushing and washing has to be done before the work

on the stones can be seen, with perhaps the result of finding that they are of the finest art that the Isle of Y has ever chiselled! In such conditions, alas! our countrymen have chosen to let them lie, and are content to let them vanish altogether.

As the result of somewhat extensive wanderings amongst these truly precious stones of our country, I have come to the conclusion that there were not one, or two, but several schools of megalithic art in the land.

While venturing to treat of Iona as a second school, I may say that I do not know if our Scottish Antiquarian Society's library contains any classification of separate schools, for as a woman I have no right of access to the library—the one possible source of information in this country. But I have observed amongst antiquarian writers a tendency to trace all ancient works in Scotland to the toil and invention of men of other countries rather than to believe in that of our own. The stones standing in circles are credited to the Druids, though no proof of their existence has ever been given; the Brochs are attributed to the Danes, though Denmark knows none of them. Then some of our Christian tombstones and crosses are supposed to be 'Irish,' while others are believed to have even a slight shade of Italy about them! But what proof do they offer for their opinions? When Columba arrived in Iona he brought no architectural art with him from Ireland, and no sculpturing knowledge. Wood and wattle is all the material the critics give him for erecting houses for himself and his companions. Yet in Iona it is easy to trace the rise and progress of an art which ought to be claimed as our own. The stones themselves show that the early brethren neither imitated nor adopted the style of St. Ninian or of any one else, but that they began to work in a humble way of their own. I have already said that Iona was no solitary school, but that as time wore on other schools with other lessons arose, each with a distinctly marked style of its own, and all having their origin in the monastic institutions—just as it had been in Iona itself. I venture to name these later schools as-3rd, that of St. Andrews; 4th, that of Arbroath; 5th, that of Fearn; and farther on I shall endeavour to show the distinctive features which

mark both the schools and the ideas. It must always be remembered in this comparison that while in Iona workmanship we can see the rude beginnings of art, the other schools had no period of development, but commenced full-grown, and produced perfect work. These others boldly adopted more difficult subjects, and worked on more costly stones.

If we accept as truth that the dwellers in the Scottish monasteries were the founders in Scotland of sculptured monumental art, and the sole practitioners of it, then it seems natural that the suppression of the monasteries at the time of the Reformation should give us the date of its ruin. And this it does. The period, therefore, during which it was produced was little more than a thousand years.

#### IONA SCHOOL.

I have now cleared my way for speaking, in some detail, of the fifty sculptured stones in the Relig-Oran, Iona. It has been said elsewhere that this is the second school of art, and the stones themselves show that the disciples of Columba copied neither the style nor the objects of the first school, that of St. Ninian. That school travelled southwards even so far as to Cornwall, and there is to be found the same form of the Greek cross as at Whithorn repeated, a form which is nowhere to be seen in the western school (Iona). The stones above-mentioned are all to be found delineated amongst my rubbings, now in possession of the British Museum. (For their numbers, vide Appendix.)

It is true that in Continental countries which have seaboards, such as France, Italy, and Bosnia, there are some rare specimens of work akin to that of our land to be found, but nowhere are they so plentiful as to make proof of a native art. Trans-shipment might account for these instances, or even the labours of a travelling monk; but in our Celtic territory they superabound, and the Relig-Oran exhibits to us art in its infancy, simple and rude, moving onward to a higher and higher attainment, and spreading and ever spreading out over a wider territory. Scotland's other schools show this marked

difference, that they start working at the point of Iona's highest attainment, having learned its lesson. In Iona the earliest stones are distinguished by their exceeding narrowness, for they seldom exceed two feet in breadth, while they are generally seven feet in length. As time went on, gradually the breadth of the stone was increased, and was ornamented with network and floral decorations; then was added the great man's galley with sail and banner. ventured to depict the great man himself, either as warrior or ecclesiastic; and last of all there were sometimes added inscriptions. But as a rule men of the time seemed to have thought their great men so very great that their memory would never perish, and therefore their names needed not to be recorded. On stones where we do not find a sword engraven, I am inclined to believe that they are those of nuns, and these conclusions are further substantiated by the frequent addition of the pictured shears. But neither on these stones nor on any other do we find the cross, save on a small scale, while the sword is on the largest possible throughout the whole of the Western Isles. We seldom see depicted men on horseback. In islands this seems natural enough, but even in the mainland parishes there are very few mounted warriors. As to instruments of war, we see the spear very generally, also the dirk, the maul, the battle-axe, and everywhere the sword, but never the bow and arrow. In a monastic burying-ground such as this we should have expected that the earliest and principal figure depicted on its stones would have been that of the Calvary cross, but instead of this the prominence is invariably given to the sword; often the sword stands alone, and has apparently been a real copy of that of the individual warrior who lies beneath.

As to the garments worn by the Celts in those days, the tombstones show us that they followed an almost uniform pattern; for the head a helmet, and for the body a tunic or justaucorps, which extended from the neck to a little below the knee. We know that this garment was invariably made of leather, and rich men had it decorated with embroidery. When this leather coat was girt round the waist by a belt (very frequently a sword-belt) the lower part of this garment is made strongly to resemble the kilt, but in no case have I seen anything that truly represents that modern garment the kilt; the plaid is, however, plentifully represented. On the feet are skins, not exactly shoes.

Of musical instruments the stones show nothing save the harp and trumpet. The bagpipes seem to have been as modern as the kilt. Amongst the stones, we are not much helped as to the subject of female dress, the dust of few women being honoured with a monumental stone in the Relig-Oran, where the churchmen and warriors Our forefathers seem to have held the opinion, so prevalent in our own day, of the distinct inferiority of the female sex; hence we find that the graves of females have been kept distinctly separate from those of the saintly men, though we have some reason to believe that the abbot and the prioress were alike descended from the same Highland clan (that of Mackinnon), and yet despite clanship, the poor women had to be laid apart, alas! with neither cross nor sword nor distinguishing figure-language upon their tombstones—only floral decorations and scrolls. There are just two female figures preserved amongst the stones of the Relig-Oran, the more notable of which is the one dedicated to the last prioress of Iona, who is represented as attended by the angels themselves. There is also the representation of a mirror and comb. We moderns are apt to think that her garments, as they are here represented, were sacerdotal. But an ancient lady well versed in these matters informed me that the dress of the prioress was simply that of every Highland lady of good family up to about the close of the last century, consisting of the hood and the cloak, the band across the forehead being simply all that could be seen of the cap. This tombstone is now only one-half of its original size. This half contains the effigy of the prioress, while on the broken half there is said to have been a figure of the Virgin and Child. The inscription which surrounds the stone is as follows: Hic jacet Domina Anna, Donaldi Qereti filia, quondam Prioressa de Iona, quae obiit Anno M D XL.

Ejus Animam Altissimo Commendamus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This stone remains at the nunnery.

At a line across the centre of the stone are the words, Sancta Maria, Ora Pro Me. Another stone may be mentioned with the simple figure of a tall slender cross, and seeing it near the nunnery, we suppose it to be the tombstone of a nun. Here ends our notice of the nunnery stones.

Within the ancient St. Oran's Church, and leaning against its wall, is the shaft of a beautiful cross. On one side of it is an inscription of seven lines which runs thus: Hec est crux Lacclani Meic Fingone et eius Filii Johannis Abbatis de Hy. Facta Anno Domini M CCCC LXXXIX.

The clan Fingonni or Mackinnons, of whom there is so numerous a cluster of monuments in Hy and Tiree, are said to have been descendants of Ferchar Fada, who carried the Scottish crown for a time to the House of Lorne. From him also were descended the ancient Maormors or Stewards of Moray, the senior representatives of the race. In later times they became followers of the Lords of the Isles. Below the inscription is the galley of the Isles. The foliated ornaments are of the same character as those of the Inveraray Cross, although their arrangement is slightly different.

Again another stone is that of a prior, Johannes Macfingoni, the inscription on which runs thus: Hic jacet Johannes Macffingoni, Abbas de Y, qui obiit Anno Dni Millesimo Quincentesimo, cujus Anima prospicietur Altissimus Deus... Amen.

Another notable stone is the flat tombstone of the four priors, a very beautiful piece of sculpturing. Around this stone is the following inscription: Hic jacent quature Priores de Y, ex una Natione Yohannes Hugonius Patricius in decretis Baccalareus, et Alter Hugonius qui obiit Anno Domini Millesimo Quintgentesimo.

Again we have an inscribed stone, with a portrait of a consecrated Islesman, Christopherus, and beside him a communion cup, with the following inscription on the stone, which, it will be seen, wanders round his person in a straggling form; Hic jacet beatus Christopherus... quondam Prior... de Hy; cujus Animam prospicietur Deus. Other inscriptions there are, but rather too fragmentary. One very ancient stone, probably about the ninth century, is a simple cross in the Relig-Oran, which bears much resemblance to the style of tomb-

stones in Ireland. Another appears to be a fragment of a cross of early form, with the Irish inscription Or Do Mail Fataric, meaning a prayer for Maelpatrick. Another cross has the inscription Or Ar Anmin Eogain, a prayer for the soul of Eogain.

Again another tombstone, a flat slab, has a figure of an abbot occupying nearly the whole. With his right hand he is pronouncing the blessing, and in his left hand is the pastoral staff (not the crozier). Beneath his feet are sculptured two figures, probably brethren of the Abbey. The next stone is a well-preserved slab, so narrow as probably to be an ancient one. Within a panel at the top of this stone, at the right hand, is a man on horseback. On the left a harper with his harp (a very large one) in his hand. He is sitting astride on a currach, and farther down is a dog on a small scale, and very ill sculptured.

Another goodly slab is elaborately carved, but tells no human story.

A stone, four feet by two feet, with a deeply grooved border, encloses no figure but that of a cross which is traced out in a curious device of knotwork not easily to be described. The Islesmen believe it to be the stone of a Campbell; if that be the case, it stands alone, as there is no other Campbell stone on the island.

Certainly to add notes on all the fifty Monumental Stones in the Relig-Oran would be superfluous. But I may mention a flat stone in red granite, on which is engraven a cross with nimbus, said to be the tombstone of one of the Kings of France.

### St. Martin's Cross, Iona.

One of the most striking figures on the island of Iona is St. Martin's Cross. It stands near to the ancient Abbey Church, and is in height about twenty feet. It is easy to get a photograph of this cross anywhere, but to do a rubbing of it is an impossibility, and how engravings are obtained is a mystery, for the upper half of this stately

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On none of these stones is there a crozier. It seems to be of the same date as the kilt.

monument is completely shrouded in a thick curtain of hoary lichens, which add greatly to its look of venerable antiquity. Many antiquarians speak of it as of great age, a statement however which is questioned by others. Its style of workmanship is not that of the Iona school at all, but strongly resembles that of the Fearn school, and Dr. John Stuart himself seems to have thought its origin a very difficult question to decide. Its great size, and the above-mentioned growth of the lichen, have forced me to exclude this cross from the Museum collection.

# Maclean's Cross, Iona.1

My rubbing of Maclean's Cross is totally unlike all photographs that are to be had, for in the rubbing it is shown to be exceedingly worn and defaced. But what still remains of its workmanship proves it to be one of the Iona school.

#### TIREE.2

This island, one of the nearest to Iona, together with Inch-Kenneth and Oronsay (Colonsay), forms part of the royal 'doting' of the monastery of Iona. Its soil is fertile, and it was really the granary of Iona. Its name is said to signify by its first syllable 'Tir,' belonging, and 'Y,' Iona—belonging to Iona. It had a name still more ancient, 'Rioghachd-Bar-Iothum,' which signifies 'the kingdom whose summits are below the waves,' and this is the name still used in romantic tales. At Soriba, in this island, was formerly a very large monastic institution; all trace, however, of the Abbey has passed away. But pertaining to it was an extensive churchyard (a part of which still remains) rich in sculptured stones. Among these the most noteworthy is the shaft of a cross which in later times was laid low, and served as a tombstone. I found it deeply imbedded in weeds of most vigorous growth, from out of which it required the exertions of a party of five to unearth it. Represented on the upper

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tiree Soriba, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 31, 32.

portion of the shaft is the Archangel Michael fighting with the dragon. On a panel below there is the following inscription: Hec est crux Michael Archangel Dei. Anna, Abbatesa de Y; and still farther down is a richly carved canopy beneath which stand the figures of Anna the Prioress of Iona, and a skeleton Death flourishing a spade in his hand wherewith to dig the grave of that lady. The reverse of this stone is adorned with a floral wreath. There are many other finely sculptured stones in this island churchyard. The Duke of Argyll, probably as part of the ancient kings' gifts to Iona, possesses what was then termed, and is now, a 'very fruitful Island.'

### KIRKAPOOL, TIREE.1

The cross here has been broken, but the upper part of it has instead of the ordinary limbs and top a large circular face of stonework. On the one side the scene of the Crucifixion is represented, and on the reverse is a stag attacked by five hounds, the action being very cleverly designed. The workmanship on the shaft is sadly obliterated, but at the base of one side is a fragment of a man on horseback. On the pedestal there is an inscription as follows:—

Hec: est: Crux: Fingonii: Abbatis: et: suorum: Filiorum: Fingonii: et: Eage.

This inscription shows that the abbot had no hesitation in honouring his own sons with a splendid cross. This interesting cross has now been removed to Inveraray Castle, where it has been put into thorough repair, as well as its pedestal.

Another highly-decorated slab in Kirkapool churchyard is worth our notice. No cross is on the tomb, but simply the sword at full length. The inscription shows that it is the monument of a prior of Iona, with nobody knows how many sons: Fingonius: Prior: De: Y: Me: Dedid: Philippo: Johannis: etc.

### Inch-Kenneth.2

This is a small island on the west coast of Mull. It contained

1 Rubbings 35, 69.

2 Rubbings 77, 78, 79, 144; also vide Appendix.



a monastic institution of high repute in the district. Agreeably to the invariable custom of the time, the church of the abbey was also the church of the parish, and of this there are still slight remains. It would seem to have been coveted as a last resting-place, and there are still several handsomely carved tombstones remaining. Amongst these one is notable. It is that of a warrior designed on a very large scale, and clothed in all the panoply of war. His arms are a sword, dirk, and skian-dhu, and he grasps in his right hand what probably is a stone maul, the only example of such a weapon amongst the whole collection of rubbings. To these offensive weapons are added the defensive, the shield and the helmet, and it is singular that from beneath the latter hangs a cluster of flowing curls. Can it be that this is the curly-tressed warrior, the chief of the Macleans of Duart, who fell by the treacherous hand of the chief of the Macleods of Of this cruel deed there still remains a singular Dunvegan? 'Lament.' (Vide Appendix IV., p. 81.)

On this little island the monastic ruins are exceedingly interesting, and there are not a few finely carved stones on a small scale, and a cross well preserved and finely executed and of very curious design. It is probably the tombstone of a nun. From various circumstances, the rubbings taken in this island are comparatively few.

#### ARDCHATTAN PRIORY.1

The parish of Ardchattan is one of great extent and beauty. Its length is great, being about thirty miles, and its breadth varying from one to three miles. Its mountains are lofty, and its lake (Loch Etive, a salt-water one) one of the finest in Scotland. At the lower end its beauty is soft and sylvan. At its upper end it pierces into utter desolation and savage grandeur, characteristic of Glencoe, near which it terminates. On a richly varied and sheltered part of its shore, near the middle of the loch, is situated the ancient priory of Ardchattan, of which there still remains part of the ivy-clad ruined walls, some portions of which are in such good preservation as to be utilised by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 6, 12, 27, 28, 29, 30.

the adjoining mansion-house. Before entering on a description of these remains, a glance at their long past story may be of interest, for this priory has a place in Scotland's history. This dim and far distant story is told in the Songs of the Sons of Uisnach.<sup>1</sup>

The first name recorded in its more authentic history is that of an unworthy Irishman, MacPhaiden, who did all he could to help Edward I. of England to subdue Scotland in 1296. That ambitious king awarded to him, as a recompense, the lordship of Argyll and Lorne. In 1296 this Irishman was defeated in battle by Sir William Wallace, near to the Prior's Pass of Brander, which is not far from his priory, within whose walls he lies buried. In this terrific pass some hundreds of his Irishmen were killed; he himself fled, and was afterwards found dead in a cave in the year 1308. Much fighting also took place in this district between the Bruce and Lorne. The former was the final victor, and took possession of the whole country of the MacDougals of Lorne, and granted its chief castle (Dunstaffnage) to his relative Stewart, afterwards called the Lord of Lorne. MacDougal died in England, and there he found a dishonoured grave; nevertheless, Ardchattan Priory still shows on its stones many honoured names of that same clan.

In the reign of Charles I. (1644) a part of Montrose's army desolated the parish of Ardchattan, wasting by fire and sword all that bore the name of Campbell. Since then peaceful times have settled around the priory; MacDougals and Campbells dwell in amity together, and their ashes rest in peace.

The priory has its name from one of the companions of Columba called Chattan, and Ard signifies the 'promontory,' and it was the principal seat of Chattan. Here it is that we find the ancient tombstones given in our rubbings. (Vide Appendix.)

Most of these have no inscriptions, but upon them are figures of the former monks and priors in sacerdotal array and devout attitudes.

<sup>1</sup> Uisnach and his three sons are said in Celtic legend to have occupied a vitrified fort near Loch Etive in the parish of Ardchattan. The date is unknown, and even that of the earliest references to them. See Dr. R. A. Smith's Loch Etive and the Sons of Uisnach. (Macmillan and Co.)

We shall first notice those stones on which there remain inscriptions. The monument of the five MacDougals, whose effigies are finely graven upon it, is worth noting. On the upper half of this stone are figured two brothers, once priors in succession of this monastery. These are not arrayed in sacerdotal garments, but are covered with their shrouds, and Death is represented by a skeleton interposed between the brothers. Over these there is a richly sculptured canopy. Beneath is a second row of figures representing Somerled, their soldier father, with his hand on his sword; beside him, graceful and stately, stands his wife; and at her left hand Allan, their son, whose figure is much wasted by the hand of time. The same canopy which overshadows the upper row is repeated over the second. Beneath this stone is the coffin of which the above forms the lid, the whole forming as it were a shelf of the priory chapel.

The restored inscription surrounding this stone is the work of an esteemed friend and accomplished antiquary, who on looking at the rubbing of the six figures, and being in possession of a copy of the unobliterated inscription, has in that form placed it here, and the whole is laid down on strong paper. We subjoin the inscription:—

Hic jacet nati Somerledi MacDougall Duncanus et Dugallus, huivs Monasterii successive priores, una dum eorundem patre matre et fratre Alane Ivorum. Dugallus, huivs monumenti fabricator, obiit Anno Dni. M.CCCCCII.

This is the only instance of any restoration, or what is commonly called so.

A monument of a similar class is in an opposite corner of the chapel, just under the remains of a fine window, forming also, as it were, another shelf. It belongs to a churchman termed venerable and devoted, Roderick, son of Alexander, late rector of Finnan's Isle, a father married or unmarried. The name of the isle referred to is probably modernised so much that it is now unknown. The inscription is as follows:—

Hic jacet venerabilis et sacratus vir Rodericus Alexandri Rector quondam Fynani insulæ qui obiit . . .

Another very interesting stone lies in the middle of the footpath

leading into and through the chapel. By frequent tread of feet it is somewhat sunk beneath the common level around. I have twice found it under rain-water, which had to be baled out before the inscription could be seen. The stone is also broken, and grass is growing through the crack. Pity it is that such a stone should be so vilely treated as this one is. In the statistical account of the parish the inscribed words are held to be in Latin; but a most reliable antiquarian friend, the Rev. Dr. Joass, Golspie, asserts that they are Gaelic. He sends the inscription on the stone and its probable meaning; and as Gaelic is not well known in England, we give the interpretation along with the letters.

Gaelic.

'IVUNE . MEIK . DO(U)LL . MCCANE . DUI.'

English.

'Ewen MacDougal, Son of Black John.'1

On another broken fragment of a sculptured stone we find rich work. The chief of the figures represented is the Virgin Mary crowned, and as finely arrayed as the sculptor could devise. This stone has no inscription save *Maria Gracia Pie*. Here on this stone we find an early trace of the worship of the Queen of Heaven.

#### THE BURYING-PLACE OF LOCH NELL.

The last of this group is a stone which, at the time the rubbing was done, lay in what to me was called the burying-place of the Campbells of Loch Nell. It is a very fine specimen of ancient art, and the non-floral style of its sculpture tends to prove that it belongs to an early date. This stone has no inscription, and has since been removed to Loch Nell.

The surroundings of this sacred ruin are of the most picturesque description, resting as it does on a green level shore of the lovely

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The second letter is believed to be an A reversed, and the name IAUNE the Gaelic pronunciation of Ewen.

Loch Etive, sheltered by venerable trees, and looked down upon by the stupendous Ben Cruachan, whose shadow rests on the calm waters below. Here the early fathers had well chosen their homes, both for life and for death. It is of the latter home that we have to take note, and on its sculptured stones we find some few hints as to the names and the story of its inhabitants—the priors or brothers of the house. It was founded in 1223 by Duncan Macoul, the supposed progenitor of the Lords of Lorne. Its rules were those of the Cistercians. By these rules none of the monks were allowed to go beyond the precincts of the priory save the prior and procurator. The outlines of the monastery are now scarcely to be discerned, but we can still trace those of the chapel. It is sixty-six feet in length and twenty-eight feet in breadth within the walls. The transept is beyond this. Parts of its walls are fairly entire. At the centre of the cross and over the main entrance to the chapel from the west stands a square tower whose walls are of great thickness. Within the adjacent modern mansion-house is one small apartment popularly called the 'Friar's Closet.' In the open country around there are several other places of sepulture, but the more honoured dead appear to have all been buried within the precincts of the monastery itself, and many of the ancient tombstones there are represented in the collection of rubbings.

### CAMPBELTOWN, KINTYRE.1

Campbeltown is a comparatively modern town. It was made a burgh in 1700. The present parish includes four ancient ones, and from the churchyard of one of these, probably that of Kilcherran, where there still remain some fine sculpturings both of slabs and crosses, the stately and lofty Campbeltown cross has been taken (Col. i. 170).

This goodly cross now stands in the principal street of the town on a somewhat lofty pedestal, which, added to the great size of the cross itself, makes it a difficult and almost a dangerous thing to complete a rubbing from it, but this one is truly faithful. Authorities on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 176, 177.

such subjects consider 1400 as the date of the cross. It is a fine specimen of the work of the Celtic school. On one side of the cross there are two places where the original carving is erased, probably with the purpose of checking worship of the sacred figures which we may suppose to have been represented there. On this cross, and only on one other, is there the figure of a mermaid. It is on the summit of the cross, and there she is fighting with a sea-bird of unknown species. On the limbs of the cross are animals, likewise unknown. The whole of the workmanship is exceedingly elaborate and beautiful. On the reverse of the cross there are four sacerdotal human figures; also an angel, cross in hand, with outspread wings, and fighting some dreadful animal. Though much obliterated, there still remains the communion cup on one panel, and beneath is the following inscription:—

Hec est crux. Domini. Yvari. M. Heachyrnai. quondam Rectoris. de Kyl Recan. et Domini. Andree nati ejus. Rectoris. de. Kil. Coman. qui hanc crucem. fieri. faciebat.

On both sides of the cross we find those strange animals of which note has formerly been made.

### KILKERRAN, 1 NEAR CAMPBELTOWN.

Christianity was planted in Kintyre before the year 605, at which time Aidan, King of Scots, is said to have been buried at Kilcherran, showing that place to have, even so early, been reputed 'holy and honourable ground.'

Kilcherran, one mile distant from Campbeltown, has a well-kept churchyard. In it are some valuable stones, rubbings of which are in my collection (Col. S. 67). In each of the numerous churchyards of West Kintyre are good sculptured stones, but none demanding any particular notice.

There are several crosses near this place, and of a good style of workmanship. On one is the following inscription in twelve lines: Hec est Crux Calani M'Heachyrna et Katirine Uxoris eivs. Beneath this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 192, 67, 68.

is a pair of shears, while farther down are the figures of a man and woman embracing each other. Below these is a man on horseback carrying a spear and wearing spurs with gigantic rowels. At the base is the galley of the Isles, from whose mast hangs a shield. On the reverse is a Crucifixion scene on a small scale, accompanied by floral decorations. The shaft of another cross whose style is similar has upon it the following inscription: Hec est Crux Cristini Mat et uxorum. Beneath this inscription is a panel holding a lady with crossed hands. Underneath this is another panel with a man and woman embracing. In another there is a man on horseback with a sword, and on his boot the same gigantic spur. Beneath this again seems to be a silver-mounted prayer-book. The reverse is richly carved, and at the base is the galley.

The Cean Eachren of Killinen was head of his tribe in 1493. Probably this cross commemorated him and his wife.

Across the loch from Campbeltown, three miles distant, and on the road to Saddell, is Kilchousland, on the height looking seaward. Tradition says that the ancient church, now a roofless ruin, was named after Cusaban, daughter of the King of Spain, who died on board a Spanish ship of war in the Sound of Kilbrandon, and was buried here in a stone coffin, fragments of which are still remaining. Here I made a rubbing of one small cross (Col. J. 143).

#### SADDELL ABBEY.<sup>1</sup>

This abbey, obscure and humble as it is, has had the good fortune to be noticed by quite a crowd of admirers—Dean Howson, Miss Cumming, and Captain White among the number. I can join with them in admiring the romantic situation of these remains—the wooded glen and its leaping stream; but of the ruin itself there is nothing remaining that can excite admiration, as of its walls scarce one chiselled stone has been left. But I should be well pleased if the sculptured monumental stones found within it are admired by the public in my collection. These are of the same school as the general run of the Kintyre workmanship. Of only one of them

<sup>1</sup> Rubbings 181,198, 200, 202,

shall I take notice. On it is depicted a hunting scene—a warrior holding a pair of hounds in leash. Attached to his helmet is one end of a belt or band, the other end being fixed to the waistband. The purpose of this thong was, no doubt, that when the warrior in the battle-struggle had his helmet struck from his head he was thereby able to regain it. This same band is indicated also on the head of the huntsman represented on Macmillan's cross, but too dimly for my rubbing to have caught it clearly. There are also here interesting fragments of crosses, and in the churchyard several of the sculptured crosses are very fine.

This abbey was founded by Somerled, and finished by his son. It was in the form of a cross 136 feet by 24 feet. The transept was 78 feet by 24 feet. The south end of the transept was extended from the gable by 58 feet, and from this projected another building running parallel to the body of the church, and this was crossed at the west end by another erection, giving the whole the form of a square. The monks were of the Cistercian Order, which body had thirteen convents in Scotland.

#### INVERARAY CROSS.2

This cross, which originally stood in the parish churchyard, now figures as a market cross in the main street of Inveraray. Its form is peculiar, and probably rather modern; it is in a state of good preservation, but on one panel there is a case of deliberate erasure. About this erasure the Spalding Club (vol. ii. notice of plate xxxi.) has the following: 'A portion of the sculpture on the upper part of both faces of the cross, containing probably a crucifixion on the one face and St. Michael and the Dragon on the other, has been chiselled out.' But my method of rubbing has brought out visibly the half-erased figures of the Virgin and Child. The inscription, which is as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A very small bronze swivel has lately been found in Sutherlandshire, which is now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Joass, Golspie. It is beautifully made, and we apprehend it to have been part of a belt like this. The conjecture is our own; antiquaries have not spoken on the subject.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rubbings 1, 2. Col. p. 64.

follows, runs along the thin outer edge of the stone: Hec est crux: Nobilium Virorum: videlicet Dondcani Meicgyll Ichomghan: Patricii Filii: eius: et Maelmore: Filii Patricii: qui hanc: crucem: fieri faciebat.

# KILBRIDE,1 PARISH OF OBAN.

The beautiful cross here, as I saw it a few years ago, was prone upon the ground of the churchyard, broken in three parts, and I fear it is still in the same condition. The carvings are not however decayed, notwithstanding its deplorable neglect. It is beautifully cut, and from its armorial bearings we see that it is the monument of a Campbell, and is claimed by him of Loch Nell, the Town Council of Oban being another claimant. The inscription on it is easily read, the letters being large.

### Innishail,2 Loch Awe.

Innishail, or Island of Women, is an interesting and highly pleasing islet on Loch Awe; it is called 'The Isle of Saints.' Besides the tombstones in my rubbings, there are on the island the ruins of an ancient convent and other ruins; also those of the old parish church of Dalmally, whose modern representative is now on the mainland. Something of our alleged 'rise and progress of art' is strongly represented among the sculptured stones of this island. One of these stones is of the very earliest and rudest form, seemingly representing some sacred scene. Others are in a much purer style of workmanship—some of them being very beautiful indeed. In the new churchyard on the mainland we find the tombstone of a once great man, and beside him that of his little boy. Probably this stone is an instance of theft from the old island churchyard, for in the modern one we should expect nothing of the kind.

# ISLE OF SAINTS, ARGYLLSHIRE.

This lonely island is or the Atlantic shore of the Argyllshire parish of Kilbrandon. On :t there formerly stood a convent, where

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 64, 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rubbings 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151.

tradition says the mother of Columba lived and died. The traces of this building are very slight indeed. Several of the tombstones that formerly stood here are now in the churchyard at Kilbrandon on the mainland, another example of the transferring or old stealing system of the west.

# KILHOAN, ARDNAMURCHAN, ARGYLLSHIRE.

The stones in this old churchyard again illustrate the Celtic prominence of the sword, and on one of the stones there is a faint representation of the warrior with the belt attaching the helmet to the waistband, also a galley with the shield of my 'Lord' and the scissors of my 'Lady.' Curiously enough, the latter hang suspended among the rigging. The view from this churchyard is truly superb; it glances all along the Sound of Mull and up the beautiful Loch Sunart.

# SALEN,2 MULL.

Salen, in the island of Mull, is on the seashore. The scenery around is truly grand, alike by the beautiful seashore and the lofty mountain inland. Pennygowan is about two miles distant, where are remains of an ancient church, and the only stone worthy of notice. It is the shaft of a cross whose sculpturings are by no means fine. On one side are depicted in high relief the Virgin and Child, and on the other side foliage. Outside is a slab with a remarkable warrior and his wife, but it is sadly weatherworn. All around the seaboard of the great island of Mull, from Salen to Kilallin, there is a complete chain of ancient kils and churchyards, as there are in Kintyre.

# Parish of Luss,3 Dumbartonshire.

The churchyard here, on the banks of Loch Lomond, has evidently been a very ancient burying-ground. Two of the tombstones are upright, and are remarkable for being out in the form of a Gothic church—windows, roof, and all correctly represented.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 62, 63, 65. <sup>2</sup> Rubbing 164. <sup>3</sup> Rubbings 264, 265, 266.

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#### GOVAN,1

In the parish church here there is a very large collection of ancient monumental stones. Some of the designs are in the shape of fish, the full length of the grave. Besides these there is a very large and highly-sculptured sarcophagus, every part of it being richly carved and in high relief. Altogether it is a very noteworthy piece of ancient art.

#### ISLAND OF ISLAY AND ITS SCULPTURED STONES.

The Island of Islay is one of the largest, and has been termed the fairest, of the Hebrides. Tradition tells that it was here Columba planted the first of his churches outside his own Iona; and we can on consideration understand the likelihood of this tradition, as this island has capabilities of maintaining a population more abundant than that of most of the others around. The southern portion of it is not mountainous, but is fitted for cultivation; and though at this date much of it is covered by peat moss, it is not necessary to believe that it was so in the same degree then, for in moist climates peat is of rapid formation. It may well be understood that when the population was greater, so also was the cultivation. Indeed, it is asserted on good authority that the number of inhabitants now is only one-third of what it was even in comparatively recent times.

No doubt Columba built churches where he knew there were people to use them.

The seaboard of Islay is broken up by many far-reaching lochs. The sea and the loch were in early times the great highways of the people. This fact was of the greatest importance to consider when planting churches, and certain it is that on these shores almost all the most ancient ones are to be found. Kil-a-rhu and Neribus are said to have been the first, and it is in those places that we find the greatest number of sculptured stones and crosses, many of them of rude antiquity, and gradually showing the rise of finer workmanship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 289, 290, 291, 292, 293.

# FINLAGGAN, ISLAY.1

Finlaggan Loch is a small fresh-water loch, and within its margin a castle of the Lord of the Isles was wont to stand, but very scanty are now its poor remains. Its site is a sort of island, probably formerly a peninsula, but made insular by cutting a broad and deep moat across the neck of the peninsula. Generally speaking, it has to be approached by a boat. At the time of my arrival there, however, the waters were so wasted by the summer's drought as to make the boat, although still desirable, not absolutely necessary. Coming near the castle, I learned that no boat was forthcoming, and great was my dismay; but a gallant lad working in an adjacent harvest-field volunteered to help my party across the said watery moat. This he did by laying down a plank for us to walk on, he walking alongside. On our coming to the end of it another was laid down, the one always replacing the other until we reached the opposite shore. When our antiquarian researches were over, we returned by the same ingenious process, and no sooner were we landed than our gallant young conductor flew off, swift as an arrow from the bow. No cringing beggar was our Highland laddie. No! but a true Highland gentleman. Besides the remains of the castle there are here the roofless walls of a chapel, and outside lie two stones of our collection. Situated where they are, I am disposed to think they had covered the remains of a Lord of the Isles and his darling boy. The larger stone was the full size of such gravestones, with the sword largely in evidence, and plentifully decorated. A much smaller stone lies beside it, evidently the tombstone of a child. On it are depicted a tiny sword and floral ornaments, exactly the same as on the larger stone. This tells of bitter tears.

Fortunately, we can give an account of the form of inauguration of the Lord of the Isles, this on the authority of Pennant. In his time there still existed the stone on which the Lord of the Isles stood when crowned King of the Isles. The ceremony is described as follows: 'After the new lord had collected his kindred and vassals in a truly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 45, 46.

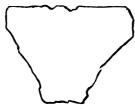
patriarchal manner, he put on his armour, his helmet, and his sword, and took an oath to rule as his ancestors had done, that is, to govern as a father would his children. His people in return swore that they would pay the same obedience to him as children would to their parents.'

During this ceremony he stood upon a rock, and the form of his feet were chiselled out upon it, as a sort of seal to the transaction. Besides Finlaggan, this great lord had at least 'two other castles in Islay,' not on islands, but on grim and lofty sea-washed cliffs. He had also a funeral monument in the 'Relig-Oran.'

# KILCHOMAN CROSS, ISLAND OF ISLAY.1

This cross is well worthy of notice. It is stately and finely carved, and stands on a pedestal of several steps, but to the passing glance it seemed merely to rise out of the churchyard grass. Such it was when I saw it first. On carefully examining the case, it appeared probable that beneath the square stone in which the cross is inserted there might even be steps supporting that stone. With the help of a mason, on testing the matter by some digging, there were laid bare four rude steps of a pedestal sustaining the four-square flat stone about three feet on each side, and about five inches in thickness, into which the cross is inserted. At the four corners of the square flat stone are circular hollows, said to have been worn by the friction of a large stone which is represented amongst the rubbings. This square pedestal stone is called the 'Stone of Judgment' (Gaelic, Clach na Brach). The stone is of a wedge-like form, and wrought by the hand

<sup>1</sup> Rubbings 7, 8. <sup>2</sup> The wedge-like stone is somewhat like this:---



At a former visit to this place I saw another 'Clach' of much larger dimensions.

into the holes; it is also worn by much friction, one of the holes being so very deeply ground as to quite penetrate the square stone, the other three being only in process of grinding. To work with the largest of these stones must indeed have been a penance, and I am inclined to believe that probably the grinding of the holes at the foot of the cross had been an act of penance imposed on offenders.

It is noteworthy that in almost all the crosses of Scotland the first figures graven on their base are always animals of a nondescript kind, and I have sometimes wondered if they had a mystic meaning, such as the subjecting of the animal nature of man to the spiritual—the teaching of the cross itself. There has been an inscription on this cross, but it is now thoroughly obliterated. A few hundred yards distant from the great cross there still remain two minor crosses, believed to have marked off the limit of sanctuary. They are much worn, but have been well carved, and most probably there have been two others of the same description, completing the square. Several shafts of crosses remain in the churchyard, and are amongst the rubbings; they are of the Iona school, and of fine workmanship. The churchyard is large, and has evidently been a very important one. It contains several fine slabs.

### KILNAVE.1

In the same parish, but at a considerable distance, there stands another tall and venerable cross, that of Kilnave. Its appearance indicates that one side had rested on a wall. Its sculpturings are very peculiar, and it is supposed to exhibit an extremely ancient style. Close beside the above cross stand, roofless but still fresh, the remains of a church well known to all of us in the North from the story of the barbarous massacre within its walls, when the church was burned and those who had taken refuge there.

After the battle of Gruinard and the burning of the church, only one man escaped by climbing over the walls, when the roof had given way. This man, running towards the adjacent lake, swam from Ardross to the Rock Bodaig, and was picked up by the men whom

1 Rubbing 9.

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Maclean had in reserve at the mouth of the loch. The lineal descendants of this survivor from burning, whose name was Currie, are in the island to this present day, and to distinguish themselves from all others of the name they call themselves the Curries of Bodaig.

#### KIL-NAUGHTON.

A very large churchyard, with some fine stones. It is near Port-Ellen.

#### TEXA.

All of these are represented amongst the 300 rubbings of the collection. (See Catalogue.)

### PARISH OF KILDALTON, 1 ISLAY.

On the headland called Ardmore there are the ruins of a church surrounded by an extensive graveyard, and within it are several sculptured tombstones with workmanship of fairly average merit. Only one of them bears any inscription, and that is the tombstone of two warriors, probably father and son. The galley depicted on it would seem to indicate that these gentlemen were Campbells.

Near to the ruined church is a great cross with most elaborate sculpturing, and innumerable are the serpents and twisted work on the one side, while on the other are depicted several sacred persons. The whole of the workmanship is so highly raised as to make a rubbing exceedingly difficult, or rather impossible.

The style of the workmanship is not that of the Iona school, but very distinctly that of the Fearn Abbey school. Though now at so great a distance from that place, yet both it and St. Martin's Cross seem decidedly to tell of that distant birthplace.

### KIL-A-MEANACH.2

This is the one inland churchyard of the island. The name, it is

1 Rubbings 153, 154, 155, 156, 157.

2 Rubbings 4, 3.

said, signifies the *middle*. The place has no special charm or beauty. Within the churchyard there are only three sculptured stones, whose rubbings are amongst my collection.

# GLASSARY, PARISH OF KILMICHAEL, ARGYLLSHIRE.

In the churchyard here there is a very large and noteworthy collection of graven stones, many of them in a style of design quite different from any other in Scotland. For instance, on one, probably representing the front of a mural recess for a monument, there is a graceful representation of the palm-tree with its drooping branches and fruit. On another tombstone we have the palm leaves boldly and tastefully depicted. This entire change of the ideal in sculpturing seems to warrant the conclusion that the sculpturings of our land were frequently the product of local and native artists. A few of the stones have inscriptions on them in sufficiently legible characters, such as the passers-by may read. Besides these finest stones, there is quite a crowd of others, on which figures the belted warrior with sword and spear, and clothed in the much misrepresented kilt.

#### KEILLS,2 KNAPDALE.

The cross of Keills is on an elevated hill near the mouth of Loch Sweyne, and must serve as a landmark to the distant view of the Sound of Jura. On the top of this stone is depicted the favourite hunting scene, while immediately beneath it is the Virgin and Child. This cross is, from its sculpturings, believed to be of remote antiquity, and differs entirely from those of the Campbeltown school. The church at Keills, Knapdale, and those of Kilmory, are in the neighbourhood of the cross of which I speak. Within the ruined church of Keills there are two very richly sculptured tombstones. In each of them the two-handed sword is prominently placed, and is most probably a representation of the real weapon once used by the warrior sleeping

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rubbings 46, 184, 129, 200.

below. On one of the stones I noted the following accessories: a harp, the representation of the wooden portion of which seems in the carving to be a copy of inlaid work; a comb, shears, and mirror; a small case or cover, which may have been meant for a box containing some toilet appendage; and also an elaborately jointed prayer-book. This last, together with the shears, may import that the warrior's wife was laid beside him. The whole style of the workmanship is of the very best. There is an inscription, but much defaced. On the other stone, besides the above-mentioned sword, is a very handsome galley with sails spread, and a sailor holding a rope. Here the inscription is in a much larger character and better preserved, and the visitor may read it for himself. Another very handsome stone here has a sword occupying the greater part of its length; the sword-belt is also sculptured at length, as well as the warrior's shield.

# KILMORY, 1 KNAPDALE.

The cross of Kilmory adorns the shore of Loch Sweyne, and when seen by me was so overhanging that it threatened to fall, but it has since been set upright. On one of its sides the principal figure is the chief of the Macmillans himself out hunting the deer with three dogs, and in his hand appears to be a battle-axe, and beside him a horn. His dress is supposed to be a kilt, but it is not. On the reverse of this is a crucifixion scene at the top, the lower portion being occupied by the chieftain's sword.

The Macmillans were at one time very numerous in these parts, but now there is only one family of the name remaining.

# KIL-COLMKIL,2 MORVEN.

This churchyard is situated on elevated ground sloping towards the Sound of Mull, and commanding a view characterised by eminent writers as perhaps one of the finest in Scotland. The view is across the Sound of Mull, and far over that great island itself. Westward it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rubbings 194, 196, 201, 204.

is only limited by the power of the human eye. Many and beautiful are the sculptured stones here. The first noteworthy one is standing apart on a green knoll outside the burying-ground. It is a beautiful cross (one of the rubbings), richly carved with floral ornaments on both sides, and these are very clearly preserved. Its base is sunk in a square stone socket, part of a large pedestal. With this is connected a local funeral custom, solemn and sacred. When from distant parts of the parish the dead are brought here for burial, the coffin is laid on this pedestal, friends and neighbours standing round, whilst the nearest of kin goes forward to dig the grave. This scene, with its widespread surroundings of sea and land, if pictured, might make the future of a young artist.

Near to this stand the remains of what we see from the fragments must have once been the parish church, a beautiful Gothic building. It is said to have been deserted and allowed to go to ruin in the time of the late Dr. Norman Macleod's uncle. There is still alive an old man who remembers the last dispensation of the Lord's Supper held there quite sixty years ago.

In front of a pointed arch which rests on two circular columns, half buried in soil, and much cumbered with ugly stone slabs, there lie four or five most interesting and finely carved gravestones, the chief one having on its upper panel two figures under canopies, and in ecclesiastical robes with twisted bands. The lower panel is floral arabesque. Near this fine specimen lie three stones with swords and floral ornaments, one of them with a galley in full sail. Sails are not often seen among those islands. This stone is broken in two pieces, and patched up with part of another stone, which represents, within a small enclosure, the pursuit of three stags by six dogs in a spirited manner. Horses and dogs are generally well carved on the Highland stones. Opposite the arch is a fine blue stone (unfortunately broken in two pieces) with well-carved sword, and ornaments of leaf pattern deeply cut. Behind the pointed arch there are five interesting stones. Part of the wall, half built up with loose stones, contains a well-preserved window with three cusps. The fragmentary remains seem to indicate the presence of a nave and chancel, between

which parts lies a small square compartment, sound in masonry, and furnished with a Norman arched doorway towards what seems to be the nave, and a pointed one towards what seems to be the chancel. Within what we suppose to be the nave lie five stones of rarely fine workmanship. These stones were discovered by me in 1884, being unearthed from a layer of stones and rubbish a foot deep; this being carefully removed, the stones when brushed and washed showed a very beautiful design. The first has on it a fine large galley, the rigging going up into and blending with a highly ornamental arabesque pattern in square panels. In the galley are two men in pointed caps, one with a battle-axe in his hand, the other holding a rope or mast; below this is a very well-defined knight on horseback (a figure seldom included in Iona sculpturing). On another stone farther down, the spaces on each side of the sword are filled up with old lettering in lines; a pair of scissors on one side, an animal below, and scrolls at side of cross, and at the foot a stag-hunt. This is one of the most beautiful stones possible, finer than any in the Relig-Oran, Iona. Next to it lies one which is narrower, highly decorated all over, having a very fine sword with bands interwoven, floral ornaments, and Celtic knobs. In an opposite corner lies a fine broad stone with three arabesque panels in good preservation, a narrower one being near it with sword and other ornaments. One stone, unlike all the rest, lies quite under the feet of every one entering the building. Tradition says it is the monument of two Spanish princesses, whose figures are depicted thereon. This is done by incision, and is rude in workmanship, whereas all the other sculpturings are in alto. Near this again is a modern blue slate plain stone with inscription and date 1752-

'Evan MacTaviss, Standard Bearer to Kingerloch.'

This was probably a Prince Charlie man, and out in the '45. There is only one other stone in this wonderfully small space.

In what I take to be the nave of this old church are two squareheaded stones with plaited bands in top panel, sunk so deeply in the ground as only to show the hilts of swords. On another stone is the figure of a bishop in mitre and robes, the staff in his left hand, and his right hand being in the attitude of benediction; below a stag and dog, on the other side, fine floral ornaments. The word 'Abatis' may be also seen dimly. Another, not far off, with floral ornaments, and propped up against the wall, is a blue stone with three swords. Side by side are two finely-carved stones with a sword and floral ornaments, on one of which a modern Goth has added his name on a chiselled blank, 'Hew Cameron.'

In this churchyard there are more than fourteen stones having swords upon them, and apparently only one cross remaining. This fact surely justifies the warlike characteristic of the Iona school of monumental carvings.<sup>1</sup>

# EILEAN FHIAN-AIN,2 LOCH SHIEL.

Loch Shiel is a long, narrow, and singularly beautiful fresh-water loch, quite in the centre of the district where Prince Charles Stuart first raised his ill-fated standard. A considerable portion of the population of the neighbourhood is Roman Catholic still, as the great bulk of his army was then. An island in this loch, called Eilan-Fian, is of considerable interest, and has beautiful surroundings. It formerly contained a monastic institution, and is still the burying-place of the neighbouring district. Probably in Reformation times it also contained the parish church; for on a stone in the churchyard is one of the ancient square iron bells, now very rare, and, valuable and unprotected though it be, no thief dares to touch it. Perhaps it is held sacred. It still rings out the knell of the sleepers around. This island was once held in great esteem, and my rubbings show that its gravestones are really fine.

# St. Mary's Kirk, Rothesay.3

The ancient Church of St. Mary's, which leans now upon the modern one, was probably the old parish church. It is of very small

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Date of the above survey, 1883. The above constitute the scenery of that parish so beautifully described by the late Norman Macleod in his *Highland Parish*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rubbings 254, 255, 256, 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rubbings 299, 300.

dimensions, and stands roofless. In its interior wall is a highly decorated mural recess, in which, large as life and in white marble, lies the effigy of Walter Stewart, seneschal of Scotland, with helmet laid aside, and beside him a broken sword. Some suppose this to be an Italian work. This buried warrior in ancient story is characterised as 'ane beardless youth, twenty-three years of age,' who led the left wing of King Robert the Bruce's army on the field of Bannockburn, 1314, his guerdon being the hand of Marjorie de Brus, daughter of his king; and from this marriage are descended all the royal race of Stewart. The title of Warden of the Stye, bestowed on the said Walter Stewart, was the origin of this family name. Another mural monument is in the same chapel on the opposite wall. It is the tomb of a lady and a little child, whose effigies lie beneath the canopy, and in front of the shelf on which she lies is a train of stately and graceful ladies, separated from each other by a pillar. The whole has been injured by a mason in rearranging the group. Both monuments have, unfortunately, been treated by the same hand. All the floor of the chapel might be well said to be paved with memorials of the mighty dead.

### THE HEBRIDES, ISLE OF HARRIS.

Away in the Hebrides, in the island of Harris, is the beautiful parish church of Rodell, formerly the abbey, and now the parish church, within which is the noble monument of Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan. This is in a large mural recess, filled with richest carvings arranged in panels. It contains, besides the epitaph, representations of the galley of the chief, his ancient castle, the Pope and bishops, Virgin and Child, the Twelve Apostles and angels; and in front of all this elaborate sculpturing is spread out the stately figure of Dunvegan himself in armour, with his faithful dogs, one at his head and the other at his feet, but the latter is almost entirely defaced. The Twelve Apostles are here represented as preachers of the Gospel, and this is shown by the scroll entwined amongst them from hand to hand. Two of the angels are represented as blowing the last trumpet. Another, in a panel by itself, is the angel of justice, with

a balance in one hand and a sword in the other. He is weighing a human soul, and confronting him stands the Devil trying to falsify the balance.<sup>1</sup> (See Appendix v., p. 82.)

### GOLSPIE PARISH, 2 SUTHERLANDSHIRE.

In the museum at Dunrobin Castle there is an interesting collection of sculptured stones, one of which is very remarkable, as upon it we have sculpturings belonging to not fewer than three of the classes of our stone history—to the hieroglyphic, the ogham, and the pictorial. The first class is represented by four figures; the second by a row of oghams eight feet in length, running along one side and the top of the stone; and the third class is represented by a very tall man clothed in the justaucorps. In his right hand he holds a battle-axe, and in his left a knife, and is doing battle with a large animal somewhat like a bear. Though monoliths with hieroglyphic markings have been found all over the east coast of this country, on the western side are few or none, and they do not extend farther north than Sutherlandshire. All these are well represented in our collection.

# ST. ANDREWS SCHOOL.

#### St. Andrews, Fifeshire

That the Abbey of St. Andrews had its own school of sculpture is quite evident, as also that it supplied the numerous small parishes of the county with tombstones. At St. Andrews itself there is a good number of monumental stones, all of fine workmanship. Many rubbings from these are now in the British Museum Collection. There is one which is especially noteworthy from having an inscription. It is a large handsome slab, on the centre of which is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Spread around the interior wall of this chapel are several tombs of recumbent warriors, and also fragments of crosses and one large tombstone, but the carving not fine. Again, on the outside in the churchyard, there are several very finely graven stones. The external aspect of the church and the surrounding scenery compose a beautiful landscape.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rubbings 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 217, 248.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rubbings 249, 250, 255.

carved a communion cup. The inscription is engraved round the edge, and probably reads thus:—

Hic jacet Pr(ior) Patricius de Ogilvie, qui obiit 1 Die Aprilis, Anno Domini M . . . . 1

Here lies Patrick de Ogilvie, who died on the first of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand . . .

A chevron with three buckles for difference on the dexter part of the shield seems to suggest that Patrick de Ogilvie was a cadet of the house of Elphinstone.

In cathedral cities the bishop was abbot; and the prior was next in dignity. If Ogilvie was a cleric, as suggested by the symbolism, he was probably of high rank; but his name is not amongst those of the bishops of St. Andrews down to Sharpe's time.

There is another great sculptured stone, the finest of the collection, but it is worked in such high relief as to render it impossible to take a rubbing.

At Crail there is a stone belonging to this school, and in other towns on the coast of Fife many monuments have been recorded which are now removed.

#### ARBROATH SCHOOL.

### ARBROATH ABBEY, ST. VIGEANS.

This abbey was one of great importance in its day, and was gifted with stately buildings and rich endowments, these latter stirring up much strife among the great men of the district, who desired the possession of them. These fightings were greatly injurious to its noble structures; and in addition, it was frequently attacked by English seafaring enemies, and stands in the list of those monasteries which were finally destroyed by the English. Its school of sculpturing is widespread in the east of Scotland. Its monuments are, generally speaking, of a singularly large and highly decorated style, differing entirely from those of the school of Iona.

<sup>1</sup> For the restoration of the inscription, and for the historical notes connected with it, I am indebted to the great kindness of the Rev. J. Joass, LL.D. of Golspie, whose well-known learning entitles his work to be fully relied on.

#### ST. VIGEANS, FORFARSHIRE.

This is the nearest parish to the abbey. Here we find several very noteworthy stones. In the churchyard is a really beautiful one. But the largest number of illustrations of the Arbroath school is at Meigle, whose church was dedicated to St. Peter, and was given to the canons of St. Andrews by Simon de Meighel. This gift was confirmed by King William the Lion in 1177. The sculpturings here are very important, and are largely represented in my collection. Unfortunately, none of them now remain in their original sites, but are removed from the churchyard to the sheltering roof of a deserted schoolroom, most unpicturesque indeed, but safe. Safe at least from the action of the elements, but probably exposed to a danger even greater. While they were in the churchyard they remained the undoubted heritage of the people of the parish; but now that they are removed to a deserted schoolroom, probably the property of the heritors of the parish, the parishioners' rights in their proprietorship may be gradually and seriously endangered, and they may share the fate of the ancient baptismal font. This sacred treasure, the most undoubted property of the Church of Scotland, has been removed and placed in the chapel belonging to the Episcopalians. Surely they are not the heirs of the property of a parish church! It is therefore quite possible that the great collection of sculptures now in the old schoolroom may wander in a similar way. Such dishonest alienation of parish property is, in many districts, taking place.

Let us now look on one of the largest of these monumental stones, one which is upright, and carved on both sides. The central figure on one side seems to represent Daniel in the lions' den, the said lions being in most dangerous proximity to his head. The figure, however, stands serene with the heroic calmness of a prophet. A reason to strengthen the belief that this is really the true interpretation of the design here is that the same scene is to be found on another stone of the same school in another centre. Above Daniel is a cavalcade of great men on horseback, apparently a hunting scene, as there are dogs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 232, 233, 236, 238.

also. Beneath the feet of the supposed Daniel is a curious half female, half horse, delineated with an axe in each hand, and below this again is a scene of fighting animals. The reverse of this same stone has the Calvary cross on a very large scale, surrounded by many strange and hostile figures. Animals are at the base as usual. To curious onlookers, Daniel, etc., are the things that first excite their notice, but we believe the cross to be the front of the stone.

One of the great stones removed from the same churchyard, and now in the schoolhouse, has cut upon it a great cross reaching from top to bottom, and all richly sculptured. At the top of the stone, and on either side of the cross, are figured what seem to be hogs, while below on either side of the shaft of the cross are very singular animals not known to modern natural history. On the reverse side of the stone we find at the top a fish on a large scale; beneath it a wreathed serpent, and the broken sceptre of the hieroglyphic figure. Alongside of the sceptre are two small animals, beneath a mirror on a large scale, and a comb on a small one. Below, filling up all the stone, are men on horseback and a nondescript animal. Another stone, apparently part of a coffin, has on it a train of three men on horseback worked with considerable spirit, and at the commencement of the cavalcade is a very unhumanlike man blowing some singular trumpet. Another stone, probably part of the same coffin, is enriched principally by great knobs, twelve of them in rows and seven of them in a circle, and at the other end a cluster of animals such as it is impossible to describe. There are several minor stones, probably sepulchral.

Another great stone has upon it, as is usual in the Arbroath school, a cross from top to bottom and from side to side, and it is most richly adorned with sculpturing. On either side of the cross are those unaccountable animals meeting and fighting with angry face over the top of the cross. On the reverse is a gentleman on horseback on a large scale, armed with a shield, bridle in hand, and beneath him a horse-cloth. Grouped below him is a man on horseback, similarly arrayed, and alongside of him two of those singular animals—one of that kind which antiquaries are pleased to term an elephant, and under whose feet is a portion of the hieroglyphic figures, while

occupying the remaining base of the stone is one of those quaint animals twisted and twined.

### ABERLEMNO, FORFARSHIRE.

The parish of Aberlemno contains a cluster of notable and stately monumental stones. Here again we have the cross on a goodly upright stone about seven feet in height. The cross occupies from base to summit. It is of Celtic form, with nimbus very richly carved. On either side of the shaft, and even of the summit of the cross, are figured animals such as only the sculptor himself could give a name to. The reverse shows at the very top two grinning monks meeting. Immediately below is the symbolic figure on a large scale, and alongside a mirror. Beneath these are two men on horseback, one of whom seems to be casting an arrow at the moon. The horses are lively and well sculptured. Across the stone and beneath these is a fighting scene, a warrior on horseback, spear in hand, fighting with three soldiers on foot, with spear and shield. The centre one has a hat on his head something like a Quaker's. Nearer the base of the stone are two warriors on horseback, one with a dimly traceable spear, and his opponent with a shield. On the left hand is a foot warrior, who is stricken to death by a bird, even although he seems to have a shield.

On a rising ground, by the side of a public road, perhaps a quarter of a mile distant from the church, stands a richly covered monumental stone about nine feet in height. The upper part of this stone seems to be occupied by the strange symbolic figures. Beneath them is a large group, apparently a hunting scene—men on horseback, with attendants on foot, two of whom seem to be blowing trumpets. Four dogs of various sizes are also assisting. Near the base a boy appears to be amusing himself with young animals, and in another compartment may be seen what is apparently the figure of a centaur on a large scale. The rubbing of the reverse of this stone is also in the British Museum.

By the same roadside are two large rude stones with symbolic figuring upon them.

<sup>1</sup> Rubbings 225, 237, 240.

### GLAMIS, 1 FORFARSHIRE.

A monument represented in my rubbings stands in a cairn of stones near Thornton, in the parish of Glamis. According to tradition, it is held to mark the spot where Malcolm II. fell mortally wounded in a skirmish in the neighbourhood of Glamis. Another stone stands close to the manse at Glamis, which, like the previous one, has been associated by tradition with the fate of Malcolm II., it being called his gravestone. This stone is remarkably well cared for, being hedged with all the beauty of a flower-garden. It is a giant stone, exceeding eight feet in height and five feet in breadth. On its chief side is the Calvary cross, running from base to summit. On either side at the top of the cross are figures on a large scale, one of these being a sort of centaur, having a battle-axe in each hand. Beneath the right limb of the cross is an animal's head, and below it a mirror on a large scale. On the left side are two tall warriors, apparently fighting with axes, whilst above them is suspended a huge vessel into which the head and body of two men are thrust, whilst their lower limbs are struggling aloft. The reverse of this stone has but a few objects delineated, the centre one being a fish about three feet long and well shaped. Above it is a snake, or perhaps an eel. and below is the mirror.

# St. Orland's 2 Stone at Cossins, Forfarshire.

The singularly beautiful monument here, about eight feet in height and three feet in breadth, has on one side the Calvary cross from end to end of the stone, and probably a considerable proportion of it is buried. There is a nimbus around the cross, and the bordering of the stone is of the richest description, and that of the cross itself is rarely fine, but greatly dimmed by weathering. Unfortunately, this stone is broken and rudely clasped with iron. The reverse has the symbolic figure of spectacle ornament, lunar figure, broken sceptre, etc., occupying the upper third of the stone. The lower part of it is divided into three panels. On the upper one a pair of gentlemen on

<sup>1</sup> Rubbing 235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rubbings 234, 301.

horseback are spiritedly drawn. In the panel beneath we have two other horsemen and two greyhounds, which have evidently not been overfed! The third panel below contains a long boat with the crew on board. This stone is the only one in the East Coast counties upon which a boat is delineated, whilst in the West Coast the number of them is very great. Beneath these are two creatures, certainly not fish, as might have been expected, but seemingly representing something like a bull and a horse quarrelling. A portion of this stone appears on Rubbing No. 101.

The border of this stone is very rich and deeply cut, and in true antique style. As it approaches the summit of the stone, it resolves itself into two animals fighting with open mouth for the possession of some unknown morsel. This very fine monument stands on a rising ground about two miles from Glamis, alone amongst growing crops, but evidently the site had formerly been a churchyard, and tradition confirms this, and many remains of burials have been found here, some of them so ancient as to be entombed in the sitting form and in rude cists.

### Eassie, Forfarshire.

This stone leans in an overhanging position outside the church-yard of Eassie, between its wall and a stream. Not long ago it lay in the bed of the stream; and unless some fresh effort be made, it evidently intends to return to the water again. The height of this stone is about six feet, and the breadth three feet. The Calvary cross occupies the whole centre from top to bottom, and from the right hand to the left there is a nimbus on a small scale. The top of the stone is a good deal broken, but on one panel there is something like an angel on the wing. The cross itself is very richly carved. On one side of the shaft is a warrior with spear and shield; he is tall in stature, but his breadth is marvellously narrow. Beneath his slender feet is a vacant panel, and on the other side of the shaft are three animals, apparently of the bovine species. Undoubtedly much of this stone lies buried in the ground. On the reverse there appears

1 Rubbing 220.

that peculiarity of the Arbroath school of sculpturing—the repetition of the hieroglyphic symbols on a Christian stone. Alongside stands a tall gentleman beside a tree. Below the symbols are three men, bearded and cloaked, whom one might suppose to be ecclesiastics; while occupying the lower half are three horned cattle of goodly proportions, though two of them, through the lapse of time, have lost their heads.

#### Parish of Foulis-Wester.1

Though very great is the distance of this stone from its parentsource, Arbroath Abbey, still I feel confident that that was the seat of its birth. Its habitat is the parish of Foulis-Wester in Perthshire, and its site on the village green. In looking at it with a view to taking a rubbing, I was dismayed at its height, knowing my entire inability to exalt myself, having neither table, chair, nor ladder; but while looking with hopeless gaze, the master of the village inn joined me, and forthwith, with the utmost zeal, furnished me not only with one ladder, but with a pair of them! To complete the scene, the village school having been dismissed, I was surrounded by the entire assembly of the village youth, and following them there drew up a carriage and pair alongside of me, and all these remained for some time spectators of my work. The stone is a huge monolith, almost in its natural condition, and but rudely sculptured, yet of high interest. One side is entirely occupied with a great variety of figures. At the top is a man on horseback, and below him are two animals. It may have been for the chase, as these are accompanied by minute figures probably representing dogs. Beneath him is a man on horseback, but so drawn as to represent two men and two horses. Under this is a priestly procession, and before them is a man leading a bullock, probably intended for sacrifice—a very striking sculpturing. Beneath is one of the symbolic figures on a small scale, and alongside is something like a bird, and lowest of all is a vindictive animal trying to swallow a man. On the reverse of our monolith is depicted the Calvary cross, occupying it from summit to base, which is one of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rubbings 287, 294.

characteristics of the Arbroath school. The animal figure at the utmost summit is exceedingly obliterated, and seems almost to rest on the cross, the said cross being very thoroughly covered with carved work. The centre of it is occupied by eight bronze knobs placed in circle. Below is a good deal obliterated, but there is one panel half-way down the stone of very beautiful knot-work, and below that the lower panel contains many animals of unknown name and dimly portrayed form. The whole stone is nearly eight feet high, and about three feet in breadth.

### MAIDEN STONE,1 PARISH OF GARIOCH.2

This great stone stands also far from Arbroath, but is apparently of that school of art, having the same mixture of Christian and symbolic figures common to this class, and, like the Foulis-Wester one, is merely a natural stone. One side is chiefly occupied with the Christian cross, at the base of which is one panel of beautiful workmanship. The reverse of the stone is divided into four panels. The upper one is filled with various unknown animals, the second with symbolic figures, and the third contains the elephant on a great scale, while the fourth has on it the comb and mirror. Very probably there is a considerable portion of this stone underground. It is not now in its original site, and has probably suffered by the change. Tradition says that formerly in the field around stood a church and churchyard.

GREAT CROSS, FORTEVIOT, PERTHSHIRE.

(The site of the ancient metropolis of the Picts.)

This magnificent cross formerly stood in the churchyard of the <sup>1</sup> Under the appellation 'Maiden' there is met with all over the country, attached to stones and other things, quite a multitude of foolish legends invented by the peasantry; but a reason for this word 'maiden,' not a legend, is that the word is merely part of the verb 'to make,' and is in contrast to the term 'natural.' In Bellenden's translation of Boece's History and Chronicle of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1669), we find the past tense of the verb 'to make' spelt 'maid,' and the same spelling is used in the original edition of Sir David Lindsay's poems. Now to the word 'maid' we add the sign of the past participle 'en,' thus making the word 'maiden,' and we believe this key will open all the 'maiden' locks without the aid of those foolish legends which encumber many antiquarians' pages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rubbing 297. <sup>3</sup> Rubbings 303, 304.

parish, but it has been removed and set up on a high ground called Bankhead. Great though the cross be, its elevated situation so removes it from the eye that it easily escapes observation. The Earl of Kinnoul took upon himself to remove it from the parish churchyard.

The form of this cross is perfectly unique, and can only be understood by being seen. Its elevation above the soil is eight feet, and all that space is so elaborately carved on four sides (for, unlike all other crosses, it has four sides), the thickness of the shaft of the cross giving room for four carved frontages—a truly free standing cross. The sculpturing is arranged in panels. The first of these, so far as it is above ground, is much obliterated; but in order to give stability to such a cross, it is necessary that a great portion of it must be underground. The second panel represents a party of four warriors clothed in armour, and the usual justaucorps below the knee. The spear is in one hand, and the shield on the other arm. The third panel probably represents the captain of the host on horseback, helmeted, and apparently with a spear in his hand. Above this panel comes a large figure which surmounts the centre of the cross; at the base of this figure is a coiled snake, and right in the centre where the arms project there is a large circle somewhat like a sun. starting from beside the snake pass upwards on either side of the so-called sun-like figure and meet above it. The head of the cross on both limbs are covered with rich carving. The summit is finished with a panel of checkered work. Alongside of what I have been describing there is represented the carvings done on the edge of the stone, which is also in panels. The work of the lowest one is not so much obliterated as is the case with the other one. The second panel is covered with two warriors, exactly corresponding to the four on the front stone, and much better preserved, especially in their armour and their limbs. The third panel encloses two animals in serious combat. The fourth is full of beautiful scroll-work. The fifth is something of the same character. Above the limb of the cross is a continuation of the part just mentioned, and is the sculpturing on the thickness of the stone up to the summit of the cross.

The reverse of the cross is also panelled. All that is visible of the lowest panel is completely obliterated. The second one is large, and occupied with what strongly resembles a litter of swine, and a man is trying to bear some rule over them. Perhaps, like the founder of the royal race of Stewarts, he was swine-warden. This second panel has a beautiful arrangement of wreaths of leaves, with a circular centre of knot-work. The third panel has been intentionally and thoroughly bereft of all its ornamentation by the chisel. As we draw near to the limbs of the cross, we meet with a continuation of the circular carvings, and in the centre where the arms branch off there is a repetition of the circular sunlike ornament greatly obliterated. Above that the upper part of the cross is very finely sculptured, but it is too difficult for description. The two limbs of the cross are each ornamented with twisted bands, with scroll pattern, and with many circular weavings. Again, we have alongside of the cross itself a representation of the workmanship on the thickness of the stone, again panelled like the rest. The lowest is thoroughly obliterated. The second panel is a beautiful piece of twisted bands; the third seems to represent King David striking his harp, and comfortably seated on a chair. The panel above him is large, and represents an animal struggling with a snake. The next panel is small and detached, but is on the same line with the stone. The detached portion, and rubbing above the limb of the cross, represents the carving done on the thin edge of the stone at the summit.

#### FEARN ABBEY SCHOOL.

### FEARN ABBEY, ROSS-SHIRE.

This far north portion of Scotland had in old times its abbey, which still exists as a venerable parish church, and even its distinct school of art, a school whose workmanship had no early childhood, but which started at once with the most thoroughly developed sculptural style.

The monumental stones of the district only number four, but they

are all on a great scale, and of highly finished art. One of these grand stones stands near the village of Shandwick, parish of Nigg, on a bare hillside, sloping towards the sea, from which it is distant about a quarter of a mile. Its surrounding in old times was a churchyard, disused for burial during many years. It formerly stood on a sort of pedestal, but was thrown down by the force of the wind, and thereby sustained much damage. It now stands with its base stuck in the earth, and a considerable part of its workmanship is thus concealed. This monumental cross is of sandstone; its height is nine feet, and its breadth three feet.

On one side the Calvary cross is represented, and occupies about one-half of its height. The chief ornaments upon it are large bosses, such as we find on St. Martin's Cross, Iona, and I am inclined to think that that cross was the workmanship of this same school, far apart as it now stands, as does the grand cross at Kildalton, Islay. The rest of the front has all been covered with rich carving, but it is now so thoroughly effaced as to have no place in my collection. reverse of this stone has very choice workmanship, and is divided into eight compartments. The four lower of these are small, and the work is much effaced. The fifth compartment is larger than all the four, and is thoroughly filled with one great design composed of innumerable twistings. The sixth is about half the size of the fifth, and is very interesting, being full of varied figures-men fighting with sword and shield, others hunting with bow and arrow, others again on horseback in chase of the deer, together with numerous other animals—the whole designed with much spirit, and with a beauty which even the rough handling of time has not entirely destroyed. The seventh compartment is much the same in size as the sixth, and is filled with the figure of a large animal which antiquaries have agreed to call the elephant. The uppermost compartment is evidently abridged from its former size by wear, and its workmanship is greatly obliterated.<sup>1</sup>

# Parish of Nigg.2

This grand monumental stone, a singularly beautiful one, formerly

This rubbing is not yet in the British Museum.

Rubbings 285, 286.

stood in the churchyard of this parish; but having been overturned by storms, it has now been removed into too close proximity to the gable of the church, and I regret to say that the habitual damp of its present surroundings is fitted to hasten its sad decay. In the act of removal it sustained severe damage. On one side of this stone is delineated the cross extending from top to bottom, and everywhere covered with sculpturing of rarest beauty. Alongside of the shaft of the cross the spaces of the stone are covered with great bosses surrounded with entwined serpents, the bosses themselves being very large and richly carved. Above the cross are two kneeling figures with prayer-book in hand, while between them is the Holy Dove, and a representation of the communion cup reversed, and on either side of it are two ferocious animals. On the reverse of this stone is an entirely different scene, but sorely maimed by time. Down the centre of the stone is a huge panel crowded with figures, the uppermost figure being that of a large and beautiful bird, and below the wreck of a man with shield and spear, and all over the stone are represented hunting scenes with various animals of the chase, full of spirit, but all sadly blurred by time. At the very base are a hound and deer, the best preserved of the figures. Down either side of the stone are panels carved in the richest known style, various and beautiful.

# INVERGORDON<sup>1</sup> CASTLE.

This truly noble monument formerly stood at Hilton of Cadboll, on the north side of the Cromarty Firth. It is now removed to Invergordon Castle, where it stands embowered in a grove of rhododendron trees. Few shelters could be more beautiful than that where it now stands, but for so precious a monument one could desire a sheltering roof. What we now have is evidently only a portion of the original stone. It is still four feet in breadth and seven in height; but most probably, as indicated by the figures upon it, it had originally been at least three feet higher. Surrounding this stone is a very rich border, which on either side consists of tree branches and birds feeding on

<sup>1</sup> Rubbings 284, 285.

their fruits. At the top the bordering is filled by the 'spectacle ornament.'

The centre of the stone is in three compartments, the upper one occupied by the crescent, sceptre, and circular figures. The compartment below is highly interesting. The upper central figure is distinctly that of a lady on horseback, the marks of sex being the frilled cap, the beardless chin, and both feet on one side of the horse; also the mirror and comb. The other horseback figures are two gentlemen with spear and shield, and beneath is depicted the chase, a deer who is laid hold of by two dogs. The lowest panel is a fragment, and the workmanship on it is the same as I noticed on the Shandwick stone. The other side of this magnificent stone has been chiselled bare, and naught inscribed upon it save the name of the wretch who did this deed. Singularly enough, the beautiful carving on the bordering of this stone is repeated as a bordering for the stone of the Ruthwell Cross.

Close beside this fine monument stands a fragment of a stone with a bordering of similar style to that of the great stone, and also a figured centre such as it has; but manifestly the two have always been separate monuments, as their sizes will not combine.<sup>1</sup>

# RUTHWELL CROSS.

This venerable and noble cross is now under the sheltering roof of the parish church after being tossed about for a long range of years from place to place. It is twenty feet in height, and its sculpturings are very fine. Its space is divided into panels, and each of those panels contains figures in such very bold relief that to represent them by rubbings is perfectly impossible. All the surroundings of this great cross are covered with an inscription in Runic character, and its burden is that of a beautiful Christian hymn, a copy of which I hope to set before my readers. Many antiquaries put the date of this cross so as to make it belong to the seventh century, and in aid of this assertion quote the fact that on the summit of the cross there has been more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vidε Appendix VI., p. 83.

recently observed to be graven these words: 'Cædmon me made.' Now, does this mean that the English poet erected the cross, or does it mean that he is the author of the sacred hymn recorded in the runes? In the midst of rubbings we have no particular right to mention this cross, but are tempted to do so, as it is a part of our Scottish stone-writ history.

# SWENO'S STONE, FORRES, ELGINSHIRE.

Here there is yet one other sculptured stone, and a very great one it is, but it apparently belongs to no one of the four schools of art already spoken of. This cross, which is of a great size, is twenty feet in height, and is called Sweno's Stone. One side of it, almost from base to summit, is occupied with a Calvary cross and nimbus, while the whole surrounding space is clothed with the richest sculpturing.

The reverse is covered with warriors, and arranged in three panels. The upper one of these is filled with men on horseback; the second one with soldiers on foot, who are engaged in active fighting, having slain many whose heads are scattered hither and thither. The chief weapon seems to have been the sword, but a few have the bow and arrow. The lowest panel seems to represent a confused fight of men and animals. The representation on the breadth of the stone is partly of warriors, but chiefly of ornate figuring, rich and rare.

This great cross furnishes the last page of the last chapter of Scottish history as it stands self-graven on its stones and rocks. On one side of it, on the largest possible scale, is the Calvary cross, repeating to all onlookers 'the old old story' of the love of God to sinful man; but on its reverse is too unmistakably represented the terrible hate of man to his fellow-man, the whole setting forth to us a not unfitting 'Finis.'

At the opening of my story I promised to tell who it was that did the stone-writing, and also who it was that undid it. The first of these I have tried in the previous pages to unfold in such manner as was competent to me, trying at least to preserve the shadow of that chapter of our stone-writ history. Some may say of these notes that

they are too brief, but the greater number will probably think them more than enough; for true it is that the doing of these hundreds of rubbings themselves has proved but a thankless office, and how much more likely that the notes about them will be lightly esteemed. The second part, the *undoing*, now falls to be represented, and this I term 'The Destruction of the Monasteries.'

1 What if it had been the work of a man?

# PART II.

#### THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERIES.

THE stone sculpturing art which had been developing in Scotland for it may be a thousand years came to an end when the sculpturing monks were driven from their homes. The monasteries themselves were doomed, and since then the processes of change, rapid or gradual, have been of destruction instead of construction. Suppression of monasticism and destruction of the monasteries need not have been bound together.

Though the Reformation and the destruction of the monasteries stand together in point of date, it is not necessarily proved that they stood together as cause and effect. It is a common saying, 'Tell us who profits by an evil deed, and we shall know who was the doer of it.' Who profited by the destruction of the abbeys? Surely not the Reformers, for they would have used the abbeys for other and better purposes. Not the 'rascal multitudes,' for there were in general no multitudes in the neighbourhood of the greater number of lonely abbeys. But the nobles of the country were present everywhere, and they largely profited by the deed. Usually they were the destroyers, and the story of the fate of each monastery would thoroughly establish this as an undeniable fact.

We are but too apt to look on our now ruined and venerable monasteries, hoary with antiquity, and to dream of them as the haunts of ancient learning and piety; but in the minds of the sixteenth century people such fancies had no existence, and they believed and knew them to be the homes of shameful immoralities. A very strong national or general reprobation of the monasteries is expressed in the

striking fact that so early as 1537, in the reign of James v., there was a general annexation to the Crown of ecclesiastical property by Act of Parliament; and every page of history shows how rapidly this power, conferred on the Crown, acted towards the destruction of these edifices by each of the inheritors of regal power granting them off to one nobleman after another, using them as bribes the better to attain what might be his personal wishes.

## CAMBUSKENNETH.

As illustrative proof of the above I shall now proceed to tell the historic truth concerning the downfall of some of the best known of our monasteries, and the first of these shall be Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, one of the earliest doomed to destruction. Its endowments were most ample, and its buildings were of stately dimensions. Its ruins stand by the pathway of our tourists from the south, and thence it may be well to call it into evidence. When visitors wander among its wasted ruins the usual question put is, 'Who caused this vast destruction?' And the ever ready answer is, 'Oh, the Reformers and their mobs did it.' How often does the current of easy-going history re-echo the same unfounded story!

As Cambuskenneth is a fair example of the general method of destruction, it is fortunate that the proofs in this case are abundant and easily reached. They are associated with our national history and with the story of our royalties. These give Cambuskenneth a special interest, and I therefore tell its story with detail.

To us it does seem passing strange that the two Queens of Scotland, educated as they had been in the tenets of Rome, should have deliberately handed over the monastery of Cambuskenneth, and also the abbeys of Inchmahome and Dryburgh, to a nobleman of whose strong Protestantism these two royal ladies were both cognisant. But they lived in a transition period, when the lines between Protestantism and Popery were not clearly defined.

King James v., native as he was of this land, had entered on the

same destructive lines; and his widow and daughter, gay daughters as they were of France, might well be supposed to care but little for either side of the question.<sup>1</sup>

The first result of their handing over Cambuskenneth to the Earl of Mar fell under the daily inspection of the two Queen Maries. When these crowned heads abode in Stirling Castle, as they usually did, out of its palace windows from day to day they could see the Earl of Mar's work of destruction of the abbey going on. Right down beneath their castle view lies the valley in which the winding river Forth flows; and amid orchards and widespread fields of corn stood the stately halls, the many cells and the pillared church, where lay the ashes of the ancestors of these same royal dames. All were smitten by the hand of the noble Mar 2 under the mask of that fateful title Commendator,' the shelter of which word was to cause to perish many another noble fane. These Royalties could see that Mar was removing much of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Death of the Queen Regent (Spottiswoode's History, Book iii. p. 146).— 'Whilst they were in their journey the Queen Regent, partly out of sickness and partly out of displeasure, died in the Castle of Edinburgh the tenth of June 1560. Before her death she desired to speak with the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Renshall, and Lord James, to whom she expressed her grief for the troubles of the realm, commending earnestly the study of peace unto them, advising them to send both French and English forth of the country, and beseeching them to continue in the obedience of the Queen their Sovereign, and to entertain the old amity with the King and realm of France. After some speeches to this purpose, bursting forth into tears, she asked pardon of them all whom any way she had offended, professing that she did forgive those who had injured her in any sort, and embracing all the nobles one by one, kissing them, she took her farewell. To others of meaner sort that stood by she gave her hand, and so they Afterwards disposing herself for another world, she sent for John Willock the preacher, who was then returned from England, and conferring with him a reasonable space, openly professed that she did trust to be saved only by the death and merits of Jesus Christ, and thus ended her life most christianly.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Earldom of Mar.—On the death of the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' who held the title of Earl of Mar through his wife's right, the Crown, in 1435, claimed the earldom and lands, but it had no right to them, the legal heir being Sir Robert Erskine. After many had unlawfully occupied the lands and held the titles of Mar, the last James Stewart, the illegitimate brother of Queen Mary, who was murdered at Linlithgow, the Queen restored both to the Erskine family after a lapse of 130 years.

material of the abbey up to the heights of Stirling town, and that at not much more than three hundred yards (measured ground) from the castle walls themselves he was uprearing for himself a stately palace out of the very stones that erewhile had been those of Cambuskenneth Abbey, where lay the ashes of Stewart ancestors. And in his new design, effigies of the monks, prayer-book in hand, nodded from out its rising decorations, adorning the walls of what Stirling now calls 'Mar's Work.' Fearlessly he inscribed over its doors the following inscription:—

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'THE · MOIR · I · STAND · ON · OPPIN · HICHT
MY · FAULTIS · MOIR · SUBJECT · AR · TO · SICHT.'
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This building still stands at the head of the High Street of Stirling, and at the bottom of that street stood and still stands the house of Darnley, the Queen's chosen husband, and ever and anon as she rode down the 'steep street and stae descent' her horse must needs have almost stumbled over the materials of the workmen. It may be presumed that frequent was her passage there, as she was in such hot haste to get married to that nobleman that she had to celebrate with him a private marriage four months before the public one. Her haste to be rid of him was still hotter.

It should be added that in those days there stood between 'Mar's Work' and the castle walls not one single human dwelling, the whole space being one sweep of natural rude rock, so that with their eyes wide open, in the most literal sense in this case, they condoned the deeds of the Earl of Mar. Almost alongside of this building stands

<sup>&#</sup>x27;1 · PRAY · AL · LUIKARIS · ON · THIS · LUGING VITH · GENTIL · E · TO · GIVE · THEIR · JUGING.'

<sup>&#</sup>x27;ESSPY · SPEIK · FURTH · AND · SPAIR · NOCHT CONSIDDIR · WEIL · I · CAIR · NOCHT.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Among others were those of James III., his wife and daughter. These lay near the high altar of this church, and in 1865 Her Majesty Queen Victoria erected on the spot a beautiful monument sacred to their memory.

the venerable parish church, from whose pulpit, according to Archbishop Spottiswoode, John Knox 'exclaimed' against 'Mar's Work' as a deed of sacrilege. Such is the irony of fate.

The monks of Cambuskenneth were thereby made homeless beggars; but it is on record that the Presbyterian burghers of Stirling kindly cared for them, though there is no note of the pitying alms of the royal Maries, Papists as they all were.

It would appear that up to the year 1602 the Abbot of Cambus-kenneth was receiving 'mails' from the magistrates of Stirling; but the whole temporalities of the abbey were absorbed by the family of Mar, and therefore the destruction of the building was a wise measure on their part.

<sup>1</sup> Earl and Countess of Mar.—Seeing that the Earl of Mar was the undoubted destroyer of three abbeys, we of the nineteenth century may be apt to form an evil opinion of his character, but facts point in quite a contrary direction. He was an excellent husband and father, and had a numerous family. His wife, Mary Stewart, daughter of the Duke of Lennox, cousin of Queen Mary, was a beautiful woman, and of singular piety. (Vide the Countess of Mar's Arcadia or Sanctuary, edited by the Rev. William Young, Edinburgh, 1862. Also see the same in Advocates' Library, from which the above is mainly compiled.) In this book we have a portrait of the beautiful Countess, with some very interesting notes of her life, together with extracts from the diary of her daily charities.

It was probably on this account that this worthy couple were intrusted with the charge of the boyhood of King James vi. However, the Earl had a hereditary claim to the office of guardian or governor of the royal children. To them also had formerly been committed the charge of the childhood of James's unhappy mother, Mary Queen of Scots. (Vide Inchmahome.)

It may be only fair to add here some further notices of the times and of the men.

By an Act of Parliament in 1572 the young Earl of Mar, on the death of his father, is appointed governor to James vi. during his minority on the suggestion of the Regent Morton.

Mar turned out his uncle, and became master of the King's person and of the Castle of Stirling in 1578. In 1580 also the young Earl of Mar continues to style himself perpetual commendator of Dryburgh; and he is described by Father Kay as 'an exceeding honest, modest, and shamefaced young man.' In 1582 he joined the Earl of Gowrie in seizing the King's person in the Raid of Ruthven.

In these proceedings against his chief, the 'modest and shamefaced' commendator David was a participator with many others of the Erskines. Again, on the 10th June 1600, he granted leases of land as commendator of Dryburgh.

Surely the above facts prove that at least the destruction of Cambuskenneth Abbey was no act of the Reformers.

# DOCUMENT OF THE MAR CASE.

Extract from Registrar in Monasticon de Cambuskenneth, A.D. 1147-1535. Page 105.

'John, Lord Erskine, obtained from Mary of Lorraine, Queen-Dowager, a gift of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. To give effect to what her mother had done, Queen Mary made a grant to him of the Abbey, dated June 30, 1562.

'By the same grant she appointed in his name, at his desire, his nephew, Adam Erskine, Chancellor of Glasgow, to the office of Abbot or Commendator of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, with the same right as if the appointment had been made by the Court of Rome.'

The history of the enrichment of the Mar family by the destruction of abbeys, both through commendators and tulchans, is highly interesting and illustrative of the times. An illustration of the tulchan method is connected with the Erskine family.

At this period of our history we often meet with a term strangely used, to wit, 'tulchan,' which is a well-known article in rural Scotland. It is a calf's skin stuffed till it looks like a living calf. When an obstinate cow refuses to give milk she is shown the tulchan, and she then yields it freely.

Scottish irony has fixed this name on the titular bishops, such men as Montgomery, Archbishop of Glasgow, who figures in the following transaction, by which the Duke of Lennox acquires the revenues of the archbishopric. This man, John Montgomery, was Presbyterian minister of Stirling, and by Court influence was made first a Bishop, and afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, with a view to his being made tulchan. We quote the historical record of the Presbytery of Stirling: 'The said John Montgomery gave bond to the Duke of Lennox, a Roman Catholic, that he should dispose to the Duke and his heirs all the income of his see how soon he should be admitted bishop for the yearly income of £1000 (Scots) and some perquisites.' <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The entire case of John Montgomery is very largely detailed in the book of the Presbytery of Stirling, which is the oldest Presbytery record in the kingdom. It forms a thick volume, and is a fine example of MS.

As a finale to the Erskine family interests, it is recorded that James VI., after his accession to the Crown of England, gave (this time not in commendatorship, but in gift) the temporalities of Cambuskenneth, together with those of the Abbey of Dryburgh and the Priory of Inchmahome, to John, Earl of Mar, to the end that, in the words of the grant, 'he might be the better able to provide for his younger sons by Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Lennox, and relation of His Majesty.' (For details, see D. Riddles, MS. notes.)

Our consecutive histories of ruined abbeys are little more than a repetition of the story of Cambuskenneth.<sup>1</sup>

#### INCHMAHOME ABBEY.

This abbey is situated on a small island in the middle of the beautiful lake of Menteith, Stirlingshire, and there are still interesting fragmentary remains of what it once was. The country surrounding the loch had at no time been populous, and could by no means have furnished a mob sufficient to have reduced it to its present state of ruin. But it was handed over, like other abbeys, to the commendatorship of the Earl of Mar.

Stripped of its revenues and emptied of its inhabitants, the hand of time has since made it solemn and silent. A picturesque ruin amidst its stately trees, it is now the fitting resting-place of churchmen and warriors.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During the earliest years of the incumbency of Adam Erskine as Commendator, his chief, John, Lord Erskine, Earl of Mar, built his palace at the head of the High Street of Stirling with the stones of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth.

Adam Erskine, Commendator of Cambuskenneth, was an illegitimate son of Thomas Erskine, and the Commendator of Dryburgh Abbey was an illegitimate son of his brother Robert.

- 'These men were brothers of John, fourth Lord Erskine, who is said to have been for a short time Commendator of Cambuskenneth, and also of the Priory of Inchmahome at the same time.'
- <sup>2</sup> Some may like to know that here there are traces of the earliest story of Queen Mary, for in this place she spent a short time during her childhood. In the child-queen's little garden there were boxwood borders for its walks, and, strange to say, these living memorials still remain, though time has transformed them into a little grove of trees.

#### DRYBURGH ABBEY.

This monastery, the second of those of which the Earl of Mar was commendator, stands near the Scottish border. It was a fair and richly-endowed institution situated on the river Tweed, and of ancient foundation. It had been founded by Hugh de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale and Constable of Scotland, and his wife, Beatrix de Bello Campo (Beauchamp), in the reign of King David I., and in 1150 it was further endowed by Walter Stewart, father of King Robert II.

It has had a long and interesting history, but it is its destruction alone which we now have to notice. Richard II. set the abbey on fire in 1385, and in 1544 the English again burned it in their 'rough wooing.' This and many other destructions were the work of the English. Invaders seem to have found it safer to burn the houses of unarmed monks than to attack the strong and guarded castles of the country and of its nobles. The noble commendator did not think it necessary to restore the abbey, but he quietly secured its revenues for himself, such being the nature of this noble 'commendator'!

While all its other honours have faded, to this beautiful house still remains the crowning one that within its ruined walls lie the ashes of Scotland's illustrious son, Sir Walter Scott.

#### SCONE ABBEY.

The following is an instance of a different kind of abbey destruction from Cambuskenneth—that of the Abbey of Scone, near Perth. This monastery was supposed to have been originally founded by the Culdees about A.D. 1014. Its church had an early fame all over the country, as in it was kept the ancient 'Stone of Destiny,' the 'Lia Fail,' or 'Kaiser's Stuhl,' the ancient 'coronation stone seat' of Scotland. It is now in Westminster Abbey, and served its old purpose at the coronation of Scotland's Queen, Victoria. As this is the only case of an abbey being burned by the hands of Scots of which we have record, we give the fuller account of the circumstances connected with the event (24th June 1559). At this date there had been a violent

dispute between Perth and Dundee, the details of which are too voluminous for our paper; but I mark where the 'Lordis of the Congregation' saw need for their interference. (Vide *Monasticon*, page 36.)<sup>1</sup>

#### 'EXTRACT.

'The Lordis of the Congregation wrait unto him [i.e. the Bishop of Scone, Patrick Hepburn, for he lay within two myles to Sanct Johnestoun, that oneles he wald cum and assist thame they nather culd spair nor save his place [the Abbey]. He answered be his writing that he wold cum and wold do as they thought expedient; that he wold assist thame with his force, and wold vote with thame against the rest of the clargie in Parliament. Bot becaus this answer was slaw in cuming, the toun of Dundie partelie offended for the slauchter of thair man and especiallie bearing no goode favour to the said Bischope for that he was and is cheif ennemy to Christ Jesus, and that by his connsale alone was Walter Mylne our brother put to death, thay marched forward. To stay thame was first send the Provost of Dundie and his brother, Alexander Halyburton, capitaine, who littel prevaling was send unto thame John Knox; bot befoir his cuming thay war entered to the pulling down of the Idollis and Alters. And albeit the said Maister James Halyburtoun, Alexander his brother, and the said Johne did what in thame lay to have stayed the furie of the multitude, yit war thay nocht able to put ordour universalie; and tharfoir they send for the Lordis Erle of Ergyle and Lord James, who cuming with all diligence, laboured to have saved the Palace and the Kirk. Bot becaus the multitude had fundin bureid in the Kirk a great number of idollis, hid of purpose to have preserved thame to a better day (as the Papistes speak), the tounis of Dundie and Sanct Johnstoun culd nocht be satisfeit till that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Destruction of Scone Abbey (Spottiswoode's History, Book iii. page 125, A.D. 1559, 24th June)—'The next day the Abbey of Scone, situated a mile above Perth, was burned to ashes by the townsmen of Dundee. The noblemen were earnest to have the church and house saved from fire, but the people were in such fury because one of their company was killed by a shot from the house, as by no means could they be pacified. Intelligence in the meantime coming to the lords that the Queen was of the mind to place a garrison of French soldiers in Stirling to stop that passage and seclude the professors beyond the river of Forth from those of the south, they made haste to prevent her, and rising at midnight, came early in the morning to the town, and immediately after their coming pulled all the monastery to the ground. The altars and images in all the churches within and about the town were broken and defaced, and the Abbey of Scone ruined and cast down. Three days they abode at Stirling, and on the fourth marched towards Edinburgh.'

hole reparatioun and ornamentis of the Churche (as thay terme it) war destroyed. And yit did the Lordis so travell, that thay saved the Bischopis' Palace, with the Churche and place for that nicht; for the two Lordis did nocht depart till they brocht with thame the hole number of those that most sought the Bischopis displesour. The Bischopis greatlie offended that anything should have been interprised in Reformatioun of his place, asked of the Lordis his bond and handwriting, whiche nocht two houris befoir he had send to thame. Whiche delivered to his messinger Sir Adame Brown [this title indicates his having been in priest's orders] advertisement was given that yf any farder displesour chanced unto him, that he should nocht blame thame. The Bischopis servandis that same nycht began to fortifie the place agane, and began to do violence to some that war carieing away suche baggage as they culd cum by.

'The Bischopis Girnell was keept the first nycht by the labouris of Johne Knox, who by exhortatioun removed suche as violentlie wold have maid irruptioun. That same nycht departed from Sanct Johnestoun the Erle of Ergyle and Lord James, as efter shal be declaired.'

'The morrow following, some of the poore, in houp of spoyle, and sum of Dundie to considder what was done, passed up to the said Abbey of Scone; wheirat the Bischopis servandis offended, began to threattene and speak proudlie; and, as it was constantlie affermed, one of the Bischopis sonis stogged throuch with a rapper one of Dundie, for becaus he was looking in at the girnell door. This brute noysed abrode, the town of Dundie was more enraged than befoir, who, putting thameselfis in armour, send word to the inhabitantis of Sanct Johnestoun, "That oneles that should support thame to avenge that injurie, that they should never after that day concur with thame in any actioun." The multitude easelie inflambed, gave the alarme, and so was that Abbey and Palace appointit to saccage; in doing whair of they took no lang delibaratioun, bot committed the hole to the merciment of fyre; wherat no small nomber of us war offended, that patientlie we culd nocht speak till any that war of Dundie or Sanct Johnestoun

'Robert, Bishop Elect of St. Andrews Witness and Herbert the Chancellor. At Perth.'

The above rather full detail of the destruction of Scone Abbey shows pretty clearly that the whole thing had its origin in a local feud between the two towns Sanct Johnestoun (i.e. Perth), and Dundee, and that all the zeal of the Reformers, headed by John Knox and the Earl of Argyll, was unable to quell the riot of contending parties and to appease the popular hatred of the bishop and his immoral abbots. Archbishop Spottiswoode, our historian, speaking here of our great Scottish reformer as simply 'John,' sufficiently shows his own

animus, and the reader of the above may take notice from this that if he had had anything wherewith to criminate the Reformer in the abovementioned events, he would have gladly recorded it.<sup>1</sup>

This is the one case of abbey destruction by a mob of which I have historical record. I may also add, that so long as Scotland continued to love abbeys, they were repaired after the devastations of the English; but when the light from Holy Scripture increased, they ceased to repair these edifices, and their endowments were confiscated to commendators. Thus their final ruin was sealed.

In 1604 this abbey was erected into a temporal lordship by James VI. in favour of Sir David Murray, a cadet of the family of Tullibardine. After all that had come and gone, the Abbey of Scone was still of sufficient worth to be made a royal gift.

The following historical document ought to be received as conclusive proof that the 'Lords of the Congregation' gave distinct orders as to what they considered making the ancient buildings fit for Protestant worship, but at the same time strongly guarding their preservation for that purpose. The form of warrant was signed by the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart, these being the acknowledged heads of the 'Lords of the Congregation':—

# Copy of Warrant.

'Traist friendis, after maist harty commendacioun, we pray you faill not to pass incontinent to the Kyrk of . . . . . . and tak down the

<sup>1</sup> In another place he mentions Craill and St. Monans, but none of their churches were injured. Seeing that Spottiswoode the historian was an Archbishop, and that there may be many in the present day more disposed to receive this testimony as to the greatness and work of John Knox rather than a like testimony from Presbyterian writers, I subjoin the following extract from *The History of the Church and State of Scotland*, written by J. Spottiswoode, Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, 4th edition. Printed by R. Royston, London, bookseller to His Most Sacred Majesty, MDCLXXVII.

'John Knox, who in a sermon preached at Craill persuadeth the expulsion of the French. By this exhortation the hearers were so moved that they fell immediately to the pulling down of alters and images, and destroyed all the monuments which were abused to idolatry in the town. The like they did the next day in Anstruther, and from thence came directly to St. Andrews.' haill images thereof, and bring furth to the Kyrk-yayrd, and burn thayme oppinly. And siclyk cast down the alteris and purge the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye. And this ye faill not to do, as ye will do us singulare empleseur: and so committis you to the protection of God.——

Fro Edinburgh . . . . . . . 1560

(Signed)

Faill not, bot ye tak guid heyd that neither the dasks, windocks nor durris be ony ways hurt or broken, eyther glass in wark or iron wark.'

'Ar Argyle
James Stewart
Ruthven.'

The above was a general circular for the purification of the ancient churches, and was pretty generally observed.

#### ST. ANDREWS ABBEY.

At St. Andrews the abbey was brought to ruin in circumstances not unlike those by which Scone Abbey was destroyed. But the combatants in this case were of higher importance; for they were on the one side the Protestant and patriotic Scotsmen, and on the other the Royal and Roman Catholic party fighting with the aid of French soldiers under the Queen Regent. This is a well-known historical fact, but an account of it would be too long to find a place in my pages. Still, these struggles were the material cause of the ruin of the Abbey.

I can only briefly notice the fate of the abbeys of 'The Kingdom of Fife.' Along the borders of that county stands the chain of burghs which King James VI. was wont to call the 'Golden Fringe of Fife.' These burghs were early endowed with municipal authority, and the teaching of the Reformation was for the first time the active cause of the admission of Commissioners to the Parliament of Scotland.

Almost all of those townships had each its abbey, and along with it a church, which latter always served the monks and the population of the parish for a place of worship. These, generally speaking, remain in sound condition to the present day, being parish churches (endowed from the spoils of the abbeys), now in the hands of the heritors, who are under legal obligation to keep them under repair.

This same legal obligation applies to numerous churches scattered all over Scotland. No violent hands were laid upon any one of these abbey churches, but they were soberly stripped by the populace of their altars and images, and so fitted for being in the future Presbyterian churches. The principles of the Reformation had been adopted by the bulk of the nation. The number of the said churches in that one county may not be much less than a dozen.

# IONA ABBEY.

(Another Method of Destruction of Abbeys.)

None of our monastic ruins more frequently come under the eye of the southern tourist than that of Iona. Its ancient fame attracts many thither. And no wonder! for certainly there is no record of any abbey in Great Britain in whose grounds lie buried so many kings and nobles as in Iona. From far and near the bodies have been brought thither. Scotsmen are by no means kindly spoken of by the tourists who look on its now dreary desolation. The insular position of this monastic house, and its distance from all centres of population, make it impossible to believe in its destruction having come by any Reformation tumult. Nor was violence done to it by the ancient Earls of Argyle. But it was enough that it was left to the sure decay of utter neglect.

Such had been the manner of destruction used by many other commendators all over the country. When the spoils of the Church were being secularised, the temporalities of the monastery were given by the Crown to the Earl of Argyle. But the ecclesiastical property was held 'in commendam' by the Bishop of the Isles (merely a tulchan), and by his help the family of Argyle are now in possession of both. The above temporalities were far from being confined to the small island of Iona, for they embraced the much larger island of Tiree, and also the islands of Inch-Kenneth, Oronsay, and Colonsay.

The Colonsay temporalities were finally assigned to the Earl of Argyle by James VI. after his accession to the English throne.

Throughout these pages I have noted the number of abbeys that have fallen into ruin by sheer neglect. In Iona there is to be seen a clear example of that class of destruction. For centuries the abbey there had been the well-endowed home of the Clan MacKinnon—abbot, abbess, and monk all of that one clan. But suddenly by the edict of royalty this family house of the clan was 'dissolved,' and by the last but not the least of these destruction edicts came in the solemn voice of the 'Tulchan' Bishop of the Isles. The chair of the abbot and the cell of the chiselling monk alike were doomed. By these means assuredly the 'Campbells had come,' and the MacKinnons must go. Had they ventured to linger, the sea was a dreadfully dangerous neighbour. Popery and the MacKinnons have departed, leaving behind them to enrich the soil only the dust of their buried dead.

The Campbells probably began their reign with a gay time, for they feasted on the contents of the 'girnells,' the store of the soil of Tiree, and of that of the other endowments. We know not whether they cultivated the ancient fields 'fruitful in corn,' but we do know certainly that they did not cultivate the trees of the orchards; nor did they imitate the work of the sculpturer, for there is not one solitary specimen of Campbell workmanship. The Protestant Campbells have not 'doted' the island with anything save with the ruins of noble sanctuaries.

These instances of destruction of monasteries (Cambuskenneth, etc.) may serve amply to prove that it was not the Reformers, but the nobles of the land, who were the real destroyers of the abbeys of Scotland, and that they alone profited by the deed.

In chronicling the fate of our numerous abbeys there is a circumstance which is too little, if at all, noted, though certainly important, namely, that among the temporalities of the monasteries (obtained by our nobles as above stated), a large portion of them were really gifts by pious persons, part of which were given to the *poor* as well as to the *Church*. Thus on their taking possession of the whole property, they

were defrauding not only the Church, but the poor of the land. What record have we that this was remembered?

To finish the story of the destruction of abbeys in Scotland I append the following

List of Monasteries destroyed by the English.

Arbroath, founded 1178 A.D. In 1350 the Bishop of St. Andrews says that this monastery suffered irreparable injuries from frequent onslaughts of the English in warships.

Dryburgh. When the army of Edward II. was on its retreat, the English soldiers burned this abbey, 1322.

Kelso Abbey. Kelso was sacked and burned by Thomas, Lord Dacre, 30th June 1523 (Mon. p. 254).

Jedburgh was stormed by the Earl of Surrey in 1523. This abbey never recovered the injury which it suffered by Eurie in 1544, when his gunners turned their pieces on the buildings, which they took and burned. In the same year Hertford left the abbey in a still more ruinous state (*Mon.* p. 266. Spottiswoode.)

Canonby was frequently overturned and burned by the English.

Holyrood Abbey was founded by King David I., and was begun to be built on the present site in 1128. (See Mon. p. 168.) In the Earl of Hertford's invasion the English army burned the abbey called Holyrood House. Only three weeks later we find this abbey at last effectually demolished. This demolition was repeated at two other separate times. Scotland continued for ages to repair the desolations wrought by enemies; but as these institutions became more and more unpopular, the nation ceased its work of restoration.

#### APPENDIX I.

THESE Classes—Cup Markings, Symbols or Hieroglyphics, and Oghams—are most largely illustrated by the rubbings of stones in Golspie Parish, Sutherlandshire.

#### APPENDIX II.

DR. JOHN HILL BURTON, the historian, visited Black Catterthun; my visit followed his the same day; in fact, I met him coming out from measurings as I went in. He says in his History that the wall of that great fortress is one hundred feet in thickness. I measured it carefully, and found it to be thirty-four feet in thickness; my measurement is perfectly correct. Hill Burton's measurements embraced two surrounding walls of the fort and the whole space between them, by that means making up the one hundred feet, the whole of the space being covered with the stones of the ruin. He seems to have been an inexperienced antiquary, and was easily deceived by the débris of the great thirty-four feet broad wall which is now scattered down the hill, and is dammed up, as it were, by what is the second great fortress wall.

N.B.—Almost all our fortresses have at least three surrounding walls. No doubt antiquaries will all believe the measurements of the great historian, and will not credit those of the author of the accompanying pages.

# APPENDIX III.

# SPOTTISWOODE'S ESTIMATE OF KNOX.

SEEING that Spottiswoode the historian was an Archbishop, there may be many in the present day more disposed to receive his testimony as to the greatness and work of John Knox than any like testimony from Presbyterian writers. We subjoin the following extract from The History of the Church and State of Scotland, written by J. Spottiswoode, Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews. Fourth

Edition. London. Printed by R. Royston, Bookseller to His Most Sacred Majesty, MDCLXXVII:—

Spottiswoode's History, Book v. page 266.—'The next day he gave orders for making his coffin wherein his body should be laid, and was that day (as through all the time of his sickness) much in prayer, ever crying, "Come, Lord Jesus! sweet Jesus! in Thy hands I commend my spirit." Being asked by those that attended him if his pains were great, he answered that he did not esteem that a pain which would be to him the end of all trouble and beginning of eternal joys. Oftentimes, after some deep meditations, he burst forth in these words, "Oh serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Blessed is the death of Jesus." The evening which was to him the last of this wretched life, having slept some hours together, but with great unquietness (for he was heard to send forth some sighs and groans), Robert Campbell of Kingecleogh and John Johnstone (called of Elphinstone), which two gave diligent attendance upon him, asked after he awaked how he did find himself, and what it was that made him in his sleep mourn so heartily, to whom he answered: "In my life I have often been assaulted by Satan, and many times he hath cast in my sins to bring me into despair, yet God gave me strength to overcome all his temptations; and now that subtle serpent who never ceaseth to tempt hath taken another course, and seeks to persuade me that my labours in the ministry and the fidelity I have showed in that service hath merited heaven and immortality, but blessed be God who brought to my mind these Scriptures, 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?' and 'Not I, but the grace of God in me,' with which he has gone away ashamed, and shall no more return; and now I am sure my battle is at an end, and that without pain of body or trouble of spirit I shall shortly change this mortal and miserable life with that happy and immortal life which shall never have end." The prayers which ordinarily were read in the house being ended, it was inquired if he had heard them. He answered, "Would to God you had heard them with such an ear and heart as I have done," adding, "Lord Jesu, receive my spirit," after which words, without any motion of hands or feet, as one falling asleep rather than dying, he ended his life. He was certainly a man endowed with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times. Many good men have disliked some of his opinions, as touching the authority of princes and the form of government which he laboured to have established in the Church; yet was he far from those dotages wherein some that would have been thought his followers did afterwards fall; for never was any man more observant of Church authority than he, always urging the obedience of ministers to their superintendents, for which he caused divers Acts to be made in the Assemblies of the Church, and showed himself severe to the transgressors.

'In these things howsoever it may be he was miscarried. We must remember

that the best men have their errors, and never esteem of any man above that which is fitting.

'As to *The History of the Church* ascribed commonly to him, the same was not his work, but his name supposed to gain it credit; for besides the scurrile discourses, we find it more fitting a coincidence on a stage than a divine or minister such as Mr. Knox was, and the spiteful malice that author expresseth against the Queen Regent.'

# APPENDIX IV.

THE 'Lament' is given here as a specimen of Celtic poetry, and also because it probably has some connection with the recumbent warrior whose sculptured tombstone lies in Inch-Kenneth.

THE CURSE OF MACLEOD OF DUNVEGAN FOR THE SLAUGHTER OF LACHLAN OF AROS.

MacLeod of Dunvegan,
There's a curse lies upon thee.
For the slaughter of Lachlan!
Little honour it won thee.
Oh ieroe! ieroe! Oh ieroe! ieroe!

Little honour it won thee,

For kind was thy greeting.

Thou wert bid to the banquet,

In the hall was thy meeting.

Oh ieroe! ieroe!

In the hall was thy meeting,
But thou stained it with slaughter.
When there's blood on the hearthstone
Who shall wash it with water?
Oh ieroe! ieroe!

Who shall wash it with water, Though it run as in furrows, And give joy to the children Of desolate Aros? Oh ieroe! ieroe! In desolate Aros
There is wailing and weeping
For the gallant young chieftain
In the dark chamber sleeping.
Oh ieroe! ieroe!

In the dark chamber sleeping, He's our curly tressed warrior, In the hour of our danger Our bulwark, our barrier. Oh ieroe! ieroe!

Our bulwark, our barrier,
Wept the mother who bore him,
The race that revered,
And the maid who adored him.
Oh ieroe! ieroe!

#### APPENDIX V.

#### RODILL ABBEY.

In the Isle of Harris and Shire of Ross, under Ben Rodill, on the south-east point of the island, is situated this ancient abbey. The date of its foundation is unknown, and the earliest note of it seems to be that of Dean Munro, who says, 'Within the south point of the Ile lyes ane Monastere with a steipeill quilke was founded and biggit be M'Cloyd of Harrey, callit Roodill.' Macfarlane's Geographical Collection also notices it: 'Ther is a Paroch Church in Haray cald Rowdil, and a small Tour in that town, named Rodil Abbey after the Saint Cleamen,' in English Clement. The ruins of the Priory (so it is termed by the natives) are still in tolerable repair, and enclose the monument of Alexander MacLeod of Harris (named Crottach), a piece of fine sculpture in good preservation. Buchanan says the monastery of Rodill was built by Alexander Macleod, but this is an egregious mistake. This Alexander only repaired it, and died, as the inscription on his tomb shows, in 1527.

There is not a stone left of the foundation of the Priory. Its situation cannot now be traced, and all we surely know is that it has been. The walls, however, of this venerable pile remained almost entire, and were repaired in 1784 by the late patriotic Alexander

Macleod, Esq., of Harris. After the church was roofed and slated, and the materials for furnishing it within laid up in it, it unfortunately took fire at night through the carelessness of the carpenters, who had left a live coal among the timber. So zealous, however, was this gentleman in repairing it, that by his orders and at his expense it was again roofed; and though left unfinished at the time of his death, it was used as one of the principal places in the parish for celebrating divine service. The restorations have since been completed in good taste.

# APPENDIX VI.

#### RUTHWELL CROSS.

In the first column are found the runes, forming words of which the following is a free translation:—

> 'Prepared himself God Almighty, When he would the Cross ascend Courageous before all men: Bow' [durst not I].

Then in a second column the cross itself takes up the narrative and says:—

'I raised the mighty King, Heaven's great Lord; Fall down I dared not— They reviled us two Both together, I with blood stained Poured from . . .'

Here the inscription is again effaced, and returning to the top of the third column on the other side of the monument, the narrative proceeds—

'Christ was on the Rood.

Lo! thither hastening

From afar came

Nobles to him in misery—

I that all beheld;

I was with the wound of sorrow

Stricken. . . .'

Subjoined is the hymn in extenso as found in the library of an Austrian convent, and entitled The Dream of the Holy Rood:—

'Twas many a year ago, I yet remember it, That I was hewn down At the wood's end.

These men bore me upon their shoulders Until they set me down upon a hill.

Then saw I tremble The whole extent of earth

But yet I stood fast.

Then the young hero prepared himself,
That was Almighty God,
Strong and firm of mood
He mounted the lofty cross
Courageously in sight of many.

I trembled when he embraced me, Yet dared I not to bow earthwards— Fall to the bosom of the ground, But I was compelled to stand fast.

A cross was I reared,
I raised the powerful King,
The Lord of the heavens,
I dared not fall down,
They pierced me with dark nails

They reviled us both together, I was all stained with blood Poured from the man's side.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The passages in italics are those which correspond with the inscriptions on the cross. This version of the 'Dream' has been attributed to Cynewulf.

The shadow went forth,
Man under the welkin,
All creation wept,
They mourned the fall of their king.
Christ was on the cross,
And thither hastening
Men came from afar
Unto the noble one—
I that all beheld
With sorrow was I stricken.

The warriors left me there
Standing defiled with gore,
With shafts all wounded.
They laid me down limb-weary,
They stood at the corpse's head,
Beholding the Lord of Heaven,
And he rested himself there awhile,
Weary after the mighty contest.

# APPENDIX VII.

# CATALOGUE OF THE SHEETS OF RUBBINGS FROM SCULPTURED STONES OF SCOTLAND NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

- (1.) Inveraray, Argyleshire.
  - A. Reverse of Cross.
  - B. Edge of Cross.
- (2.) Inveraray, Argyleshire.
  - A. Front of Cross.
  - B. Edge of Cross.
- (3.) Poltalloch, Argyleshire.
  - A. Front of Cross.
  - B. Edge of Cross.
- (4.) Poltalloch, Argyleshire.
  Recess of Cross.
- (5.) Dunstaffnage, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (6.) Ardchattan Priory, Argyleshire. Tombstone (Inscription restored).
- (7.) Kilchoman, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Recess of Cross.
- (8.) Kilchoman, Islay, Argyleshire. Front of Cross.
- (9.) Kilnave, Islay, Argyleshire. Cross.
- (10.) Stralachlan, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (11.) Keills, Knapdale, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (12.) Ardchattan Priory (Loch Etive), Argyleshire. Tombstone.

(13.) Kilmichael Glassary, Lochfyne, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(14.) Kilmichael Glassary, Lochfyne, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(15.) Kilmichael Glassary, Lochfyne, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(16.) Kilmichael Glassary, Lochfyne,
Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(17.) Kilmichael Glassary, Lochfyne, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

- (18.) Mull of Kintyre, Argyleshire.
  - A. Tombstone.

Strachur, Argyleshire.

B. Tombstone.

- (19.) Strachur, Lochfyne, Argyleshire.
  - A. Tombstone.

Clachan, Kintyre, Argyleshire.

B. Tombstone.

- (20.) Strachur, Lochfyne, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (21.) Strachur, Lochfyne, Argyleshire. Tombstone.
- (22.) Strachur, Lochfyne, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.

- (23.) Strachur, Lochfyne, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (24.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (25.) Iona, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone of a King of France.
- (26.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (27.) Ardchattan Priory, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (28.) Ardchattan Priory, now at Lochnell, Argyleshire. Tombstone.
- (29.) Ardchattan Priory, Loch Etive, Argyleshire.
  - A. Fragments.
  - B.
  - C.
  - D.
- (30.) Dalmally, Perthshire.
  - A. Tombstone.

    Argyleshire.

Ardchattan Priory.

B. Fragment.

D. Trugmon.

Ardchattan Priory.

- C. Fragment.
- (31.) Iona, Argyleshire.

Maclean's Cross: Front. This Cross istwelvefeet in height. Its sculpturing is of a later date than St. Martin's Cross; it stands by the side of the road leading to the Cathedral.

(32.) Iona, Argyleshire.

Maclean's Cross. Reverse.

- (33.) Soriba, Tiree, Argyleshire.

  A. Tombstone.

  Kilnaughton, Islay, Argyleshire.
- (34.) Neribus, Islay, Argyleshire.
  A.
  Soriba, Tiree, Argyleshire.
- (35.) Kirkapoll, Tiree, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (36.) Tiree, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (37.) Soriba, Tiree, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (38.) Soriba, Tiree, Argyleshire.
  A. Front.
  - B. Reverse.
- (39.) Soriba, Tiree, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (40.) Soriba, Tiree, Argyleshire.
  - A. Tombstone.
  - B. Tombstone.
- (41.) Kilnaughton, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (42.) Kilnaughton, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (43.) Kil-a-meanach, Islay, Argyle-shire.

Tombstone.

(44.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire.
A. Fragment.

Kil-a-meanach, Islay, Argyleshire.
B. Tombstone.

- (45.) Finlaggan, Islay, Argyleshire.
  - A. Tombstone of Son.
  - B. Tombstone of Father.

- (46.) Keills, Knapdale, Argyleshire. Cross.
- (47.) Iona, Argyleshire.

  A. Tombstone.

  B. Fragment.
- (48.) Iona, Argyleshire.

  Probably grave of Son.
- (49.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (50.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (51.) Fingonie's Cross, Iona, Argyleshire.

  Inscription: Hec est crux Lacclanni.
- (52.) Iona, Argyleshire.

  Probably tomb of Nun.
- (53.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (54.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone of Abbot. This Abbot, like his neighbours, bears not a crosier, but a pastoral staff.
- (55.) Iona, Argyleshire.

  A. Fragment.

  B. Fragment.

  C. Cross.
- (56.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (57.) Neribus, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (58.) Neribus, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.

- (59.) Neribus, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone of Ecclesiastic.
- (60.) Neribus, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (61.) Neribus, Islay, Argyleshire.
  A. Fragments of Cross.
  B. Front.
- (62.) Kilchoan, Ardnamurchan,
  Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (63.) Kilchoan Ardnamurchan, Argyleshire. Tombstone.
- (64.) Kilbride, near Oban, Argyleshire. Cross, other side of No. 70.
- (65.) Kilchoan, Ardnamurchan, Argyleshire. Tombstone.
- (66.) Kilninian, Mull, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (67.) Kilkerran, Kintyre, Argyleshire. Shaft of Cross. Edge of Cross.
- (68.) Kilkerran, Kintyre, Argyleshire. Shaft of Cross. Edge of Cross.
- (69.) Kirkapoll, Tiree, Argyleshire. Shaft of Cross. Edge of Cross.
- (70.) Kilbride, -. near Oban, Argyleshire. Cross, other side of No. 64.
- (71.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.

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# APPENDIX.

- (72.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (73.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (74.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (75.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (76.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  2. Tombstone.
- (77.) Inch-Kenneth, Duart, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone.
- .(80.) Kilninian, Mull, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (81.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (82.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (83.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (84.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (85.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (86.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (87.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (88.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (89.) Iona, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone of Abbot.

- (90.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (91.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (92.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (93.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (94.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (95.) Iona, Argyleshire.A. Tombstone.B. Portion of Cross.Columba's Pillow.
- (96.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (97.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (98.) Iona, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone.

  A. Fragment.
  - B. Tombstone.
- (99.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (100.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (101.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (102.) Iona, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone of four Priors.
- (103.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  - A. Tombstone of last of the Abbots of Iona.
  - B. Columba's Pillow.

- (104.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (105.) Tobermory, Mull.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
  - Iona, Argyleshire.
    - C. Tombstone.
- (106.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (107.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (108.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (109.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (110.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Shaft of Cross.
- (111.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (112.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (113.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (114.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (115.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (116.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (117.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (118.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.

- (119.) Iona, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (120.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyleshire.
  - Tombstone.
- (121.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (122.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

- (123.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (124.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyleshire.
  - Tombstone.
- (125.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone.
  - 10110000000
- (126.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (127.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyle-shire.

Tombstone.

- (128.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyleshire.
  - Tombstone.
- (129.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (130.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyle-shire.
  - A. Fragment of Tombstone.
  - B. Fragment of Tombstone.

(131.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(132.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(133.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(134.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(135.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(136.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(137.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(138.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyle-shire.

Tombstone.

(139.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

A. Tombstone.

B. Tombstone.

(140.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

A. Tombstone.

B. Tombstone.

C. Tombstone.

(141.) Lismore, Argyleshire.
Tombstone.

(142.) Kilmorie, Knapdale, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(143.) Kilcouslan, Argyleshire.
A, B, C, D. Front, back, and sides of shaft.

(144.) Inch-Kenneth, Argyleshire. Cross.

A. Front.

B. Back.

(145.) Kilchoman, Islay, Argyleshire. Shaft of Cross.

A. Front.

B. Edge.

C. Back.

D. Edge.

Rodel, Harris.

E and F. Front and back of Fragment of Cross.

(146.) Inishail, Loch Aue, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(147.) Inishail, Loch Awe, Argyle-shire.

Tombstone.

(148.) Inishail, Loch Awe, Argyleshire.

Tombstone.

(149.) Inishail, Loch Awe, Argyle-shire.

Tombstone.

(150.) Inishail, Loch Awe, Argyle-shire.

Tombstone.

- (151.) Inishail, Loch Awe, Argyle-shire.
  - Probably Altar-piece.
- (152.) Kilaline, Salen, Mull.
  - A. Fragment of Tombstone.
  - B. Loch Awe. Fragment.
  - C. Loch Awe. Fragment.
- (153.) B. Kil Dhounaig, Morvern. Fragment.
  - C. Kildalton, Islay. Tombstone.
  - D. Kildalton, Islay. Tombstone.
  - Argyleshire.
- (154.) Kildalton, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (155.) Kildalton, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (156.) Kildalton, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (157.) Kildalton, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone,
- (158.) A. Kilchoman, Islay. Tombstone.
  - B. Kildalton, Islay. Tombstone.

    Argyleshire.
- (159.) Kilcongie, Kintyre, Argyleshire.
- Tombstone.
- (160.) A. Neribus. Fragment. B. Neribus. Fragment.
  - C. Kirkapoll, Tiree. Cross.
  - D. Kirkapoll, Tiree. Base of Cross.
- (161.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire. Cross.

- (162.) A. Kilmorie, Mull. Fragment.
  - B. Penygowan, Mull.
  - C. Penygowan, Mull.
    - Fragments of Cross. Front and back.
      - Argyleshire.
- (163.) Kilmorie, Mull, Argyleshire.
  - A. Front of Cross.
  - B. Back of Cross.
- (164.) Kilaline, Salen, Mull, Argyleshire.
  - Tombstone.
- (165.) Tobermory, Mull, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (166.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  - A. Tombstone.
  - B. Tombstone.
- (167.) Texa, now at Kildalton.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
  - C. Texa.
    - Argyleshire.
- (168.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (169.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (170.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (171.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (172.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (173.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.

- (174.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (175.) Kil-a-rhu, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (176.) Campbeltown, Argyleshire.
  Campbeltown Cross.

  A. Back of Cross.
  - B. Edge of Cross.
  - O
- (177.) Campbeltown, Argyleshire.
  Campbeltown Cross.
  A. Front of Cross.
  - B. Edge of Cross.
- (178.) Oronsay, Argyleshire.
  - A. Fragment. B. Fragment.
- (179.) Oronsay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (180.) Oronsay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (181.) Saddell, Kintyre, Argyleshire.
  - A. Fragment of shaft, B. edge.
  - C. Fragment of shaft, D. edge.
  - E. Fragment of shaft, F. edge.
  - G. Fragment of shaft, H. edge.
- (182.) Kilchoman, Islay, Argyleshire.
  - A. Cross, back.
  - B. Cross, front.
- (183.) Kilchoman, Islay.
  - A. Cross, marking Sanctuary.
  - B. Cross, marking Sanctuary.
  - C. Half of pedestal of great cross.
  - D. Clach-na-Brach (stone of destiny).

Argyleshire.

The stones marking the sanctuary are richly carved, and tradition says there were formerly four of them.

- (184.) Keills, Knapdale, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (185.) Kilchoman, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (186.) Kilmartin, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (187.) Kilchoman, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (188.) Kilbrandon, Isle of Saints, Argyleshire. Tombstone.
- (189.) Kilmichael Glassary, Argyleshire.

  Altar-piece.
- (190.) Kilkenzie, Kintyre, Argyleshire. B. Fragment of shaft. Isle of Saints, Argyleshire. A. Fragment of tombstone.
- (191.) Kilcouslan, Kintyre, Argyleshire.

Shaft of Cross.

- A. Front.
- B. Edge.
- C. Back.
- D. Edge.
- (192.) Kilkerran, Kintyre.

  B. Tombstone.

  Clachan, Kintyre.

A. Tombstone.

- (193.) Killean, Kintyre, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (194.) Kilcolmkiel, Kintyre, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone.
- (195.) Clachan, Kintyre, Argyleshire. Tombstone.
- (196.) Kilcolmkiel, Kintyre, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone.
- (197.) Clachan, Kintyre, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (198.) Saddell Abbey, Kintyre, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone.
- (199.) A. Tarbert, Kintyre, Argyleshire. Tombstone.
  - B. Roddell Harris.
    Tombstone.
- (200.) Saddell Abbey, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (201.) Kilcolmkiel, Kintyre, Argyleshire.

  Tombstone.
- (202.) Saddell, Kintyre, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (203.) Kilabean, Kintyre, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (204.) Kilcolmkiel, Kintyre, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (205.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.

- (206.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
  A. Fragment.
  B. Probably two fragments placed together.
- (207.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire.
  A. Shaft of Cross, front.
  B. Shaft of Cross, reverse.
  C. Fragment.
- (208.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire.A. Tombstone.B. Tombstone.
- (209.) Keills, Knapdale, Argyleshire. Cross.
- (210.) Keil, Knapdale, Argyleshire. Cross.
- (211.) Kilchoman, Islay, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (212.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire. Cross.
- (213.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire. Cross.
- (214.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire. Cross.
- (215.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (216.) Keil, Morvern, Argyleshire.
  Tombstone.
- (217.) St. Vigeans, Forfarshire.
  - A. B. Fragments.
  - C. D. Fragments.
  - E. F. Fragments.
  - G. H. Fragments.
  - Fragments.

- (218.) Huntershill, Glamis, Forfarshire.
  - A. On reverse of B.
- (219.) St. Vigeans, Forfarshire.
  - A. B. Fragments.
  - C. D. Fragments.
  - E. F. Fragments.
  - G. H. Fragments.
- (220.) Eassie, Forfarshire. Upright Stone.

B. Cross.

- (221.) Aberlemno, Forfarshire.
  Upright Stone.
- (222.) Meigle, Forfarshire. Upright Stone.
- (223.) Alyth, Forfarshire. Upright Stone.
- (224.) Meigle, Forfarshire.
  - A. Sculptured Stone.
  - B. Sculptured Stone.
- (225.) St. Vigeans, Forfarshire.
  - A. Upright Stone.
  - B. Fragment.
- (226.) Meigle, Forfarshire.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Tombstone.
- (227.) Meigle, Forfarshire.
  - A. Probably side of sarcophagus.
  - В.
- (228.) Meigle, Forfarshire.
  - Probably side of sarcophagus.
  - В.

- (229.) Meigle, Forfarshire.
  - A. B. Fragments.
  - C. D. Fragments.
  - E. F. Fragments.
- (230.) Kirriemuir, Forfarshire.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
- (231.) Kirriemuir, Forfarshire.
  - A. B. Fragments.
  - C. D. Fragments.
  - E. Fragments.
- (232.) Meigle, Forfarshire.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
- (233.) Meigle, Forfarshire.

  Monumental Stone.
- (234.) St. Orlands, Forfarshire.
  Monumental Stone.
- (235.) Manoe Garden, Glamis, Forfarshire.
  - Monumental Stone.
- (236.) Meigle, Forfarshire.

  Monumental Stone. Reverse
  of 238.
- (237.) Aberlemno, Forfarshire. Upright Stone.
- (238.) Meigle, Forfarshire.

  Monumental Stone. Front
  of 236.
- (239.) St. Vigeans, Forfarshire. Upright Stone.
- (240.) Aberlemno, Forfarshire. Upright Stone.

- (241.) Golspie, Sutherland.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
- (242.) Golspie, Sutherland.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
  - C. Fragment.
  - D. Fragment.
  - E. Fragment.
  - F. Fragment.
- (243.) Golspie, Sutherland. Upright Stone.
  - A. Front.
  - B. Edge.
- (244.) Golspie, Sutherland, B.
  Bruceton, Alyth, Forfarshire, A.
- (245.) Golspie, Sutherland.

  A.
  B.
- (246.) Golspie, Sutherland. Upright Stone.
- (247.) Golspie, Sutherland. Upright Stone.
- (248.) Golspie, Sutherland. Upright Stone.
- (249.) St. Andrews, Fifeshire.

  A. Shaft of Cross.
  - B. Edge of Cross.
- (250.) St. Andrews, Fifeshire.A. Reverse of 249.B. Edge of 249.
- (251.) St. Andrews, Fifeshire.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Tombstone.

- (252.) Crail, Fifeshire.
  Tombstone.
- (253.) Crail, Fifeshire. Upright Stone.
- (254.) Eiloan-Fion, Loch Shiel, Inverness.

Tombstone.

- (255.) Eiloan-Fion, Loch Shiel, Inverness.

  Tombstone.
- (256.) Eiloan-Fion, Loch Shiel, Inverness.

Tombstone.

(257.) Eiloan-Fion, Loch Shiel, Inverness.

Tombstone.

- (258.) Garioch, Aberdeenshire.

  Maiden Stone.
- (259.) Garioch, Aberdeenshire.

  Maiden Stone. Reverse of
  258.
- (260.) Kilmorie, Loch Sweyne, Knapdale, Argyleshire. Macmillan's Cross.
- (261.) Kilmorie, Loch Sweyne, Knapdale, Argyleshire. Reverse of Macmillan's Cross.
- (262.) Roseneath, Dumbartonshire. Cross.
  - A. Front.
  - B. Edge.

- (263.) Roseneath, Dumbartonshire. Cross.
  - A. Front.
  - B. Edge.
- (264.) Luss, Dumbartonshire.

  Sepulchral Monument in shape of a Church.
- (265.) Luss, Dumbartonshire. Sepulchral Monument in shape of a Church.
- (266.) Luss, Dumbartonshire.

  Sepulchral Monument in shape of a Church.
- (267.) St. Ninian's Priory, Whithorn, Wigtownshire.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
  - C. Fragment.
- (268.) Whithorn, Wigtownshire.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
  - C. Fragment.
- (269.) Whithorn, Wigtownshire.
  Monumental Stone.
- (270.) Arran, Clyde.

  Tombstone of St. Moidan.
- (271.) Island of Arran.
  Tombstone.
- (272.) Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire. Tomb of a Knight of St. John.
- (273.) Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire.

  Tomb of a Knight of St.
  John.

- (274.) Farr, Caithness. Upright Stone.
- (275.) Rodell, Harris. Tombstone.
- (276.) Rodell, Harris. Tombstone.
- (277.) Rodell, Harris.
  Tombstone.
- (278.) From Shetland, now in Edinburgh Museum. Monumental Stone.
- (279.) St. Andrews Museum, Fifeshire.
  Tombstone.
- (280.) St. Andrews Museum, Fifeshire.
  Tombstone.
- (281.) Cadboll, Ross-shire, now at Invergordon Castle. Fragment.
- (282.) Forteviot, Perthshire, now in Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum.

  Fragment.
- (283.) Dunblane Cathedral, Perthshire. Upright Stone.
- (284.) Invergordon Castle Grounds, taken from Cadboll, Rossshire,
- (285.) Nigg, Ross-shire.

  Monumental Stone.

- (286.) Sutherland.
  - A. Fragment.
  - C. Fragment.
  - B. In Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.
- (287.) Foulis-Wester, Perthshire. Great Cross.
- (288.) St. Ninian's Cave, Wigtown-shire.
  - A. to M. Fragments.
- (289.) Govan, Renfrewshire. Stone Coffin.
- (290.) Govan, Renfrewshire. Stone Coffin.
- (291.) Govan, Renfrewshire.
  - A. End of Stone Coffin.
  - B. End of Stone Coffin.
  - C. Clachan, Kintyre. Fragment.
- (292.) Govan, Renfrewshire.
  - A. Fragment.
  - B. Fragment.
- (293.) Govan, Renfrewshire.
  Tombstone.
- (294.) Foulis-Wester, Perthshire. Great Cross. Reverse of 287.

- (295.) Crieff, Perthshire. Cross.
- (296.) Dalmally, Perthshire.
  - A. Tombstone.
  - B. Tombstone.
- (297.) Garioch, Aberdeenshire.
  - A. Edge of Stone.
  - B. Edge of Stone.
  - Crieff, Perthshire.
    - C. Edge of Cross.
- (298.) Rodell Church, Harris.

  Tomb of Chief of Macleod
  Dunvegan.
- (299.) Parish Church, Rothesay, Bute, and St. Mary's Chapel.
  - Mural Monument to Walter Stewart, husband of Marjorie De Bruce, daughter of King Robert the Bruce, founder of the royal line of Stewarts.
- (300.) Rothesay, Bute.
  - St. Mary's Chapel. Part of a Mural Monument of a lady and child, a procession of ladies.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The numbers attached to the places in the above list are not those of pages, but are those of rubbings of the sculptured stones now in the catalogue of the British Museum.

Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to Her Majesty at the Edinburgh University Press

